

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY

VOLUME 4

NUMBERS 3 AND 4



TRINIDAD CARNIVAL ISSUE

COVER ILLUSTRATION :

Bill McKenzie and his band of Pierrot Grenade in the Trinidad
Carnival of 1956.

From a photograph lent by Mr. McKenzie.

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY

	PAGE
EDITOR'S NOTES	173
CARNIVAL IN NINETEENTH CENTURY TRINIDAD	
Andrew Pearse	175
THE TRADITIONAL MASQUES OF CARNIVAL	
Daniel J. Crowley	194
THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE COLOURED MIDDLE CLASS TOWARDS CARNIVAL	
Barbara E. Powrie	224
CARNIVAL IN NEW ORLEANS	
Munro S. Edmonson	233
CARIBBEAN THEME: A CALYPSO	
E. L. Brathwaite	246
MITTO SAMPSON ON CALYPSO LEGENDS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	
Arranged and edited by Andrew Pearse	250
THE MIDNIGHT ROBBERS	
Daniel J. Crowley	263
THE DRAGON BAND OR DEVIL BAND	
Bruce Procope	275
PIERROT GRENADE	
Andrew T. Carr	281
REVIEW	315

CHURCH
OF THE
SACRAMENT

NOTE ON MANUSCRIPTS

MSS. and Communications to the Editors should be addressed to either Editor of the *Caribbean Quarterly* at their respective addresses, and not to an individual. Unsolicited MSS. which are not accepted for publication will be returned if accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

Copyright reserved, and reproduction without permission strictly forbidden.

ERRATUM

The Cover Illustration "All Saints" which appeared on Volume 4 No. 2 was from the photograph of:

John D. Lee
16, First Street,
San Juan, Trinidad, B.W.I.

and not David Lee, as stated.

R
an

Nam

Add

Vali

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY

Editors :

PHILIP M. SHERLOCK, U.C.W.I., Mona, Jamaica, B.W.I.

ANDREW T. CARR, Editorial Office, Trinidad, B.W.I.

Single copies can be obtained in the British West Indies from booksellers or from Resident Tutors of the Extra Mural Department, in the various territories whose addresses are:—

Jamaica	...	...	Resident Tutor, Extra Mural Department, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, B.W.I.
British Honduras	...	...	Vernon Leslie, Baron Bliss Institute, Belize, British Honduras.
Leeward Islands	...	...	Douglas Hall, Extra Mural Department, Basseterre, St. Kitts, B.W.I.
Windward Islands	...	...	B. H. Easter, Bridge Street, Castries, St. Lucia, B.W.I.
Barbados	...	...	A. Douglas-Smith, Lee Side, St. Lawrence Gap, Christ Church, Barbados, B.W.I.
British Guiana	...	...	Adolph Thompson, 78, Carmichael Street, Georgetown, British Guiana.
Trinidad and Tobago	...	...	Norman H. Booth, La Fantaisie Road, St. Ann's, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE

Subscribers in British West Indies ... \$2.00 (B.W.I.) or 8/4
(4 issues post free)

Subscribers in the United Kingdom ... 8/4
Do. do. United States of America ... \$2.00 (U.S.)
Do. do. Canada ... \$2.00 (Canadian)
Do. do. Haiti ... 8 gourds

Fill in the form below and send with subscription to:

ANDREW T. CARR

Editorial Office, *Caribbean Quarterly*,

La Fantaisie Road,

St. Ann's, Port-of-Spain,

TRINIDAD, B.W.I.

or

c/o Trinidad Building and Loan Association,

Cor. Queen and Chacon Streets,

Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

CUT OFF

"CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY" SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Name:

Address:

I enclose.....in payment of.....subscription(s)

Valid from Vol.....No.....for 4 issues.

Signed:

Date:

A SELECTION OF CONTENTS FROM PAST ISSUES

Volume I—Nos. 1 to 4 are out of print.

Vol. II, No. 1

<i>The University College of the West Indies</i> ...	T. W. J. Taylor
<i>West Indian Family Organisation</i> ...	Fernando Henriques
<i>Ships and Seamen in the Age of Discovery</i> ...	John H. Parry
<i>Notes on the Reading of Poetry</i> ...	A. K. Croston

Vol. II, No. 2

<i>The English Language</i> ...	Robert Le Page
<i>West Indian Themes</i> ...	Andrew Pearce
<i>Glimpses of a Lost Civilization</i> ...	A. H. Anderson
<i>Art in British Honduras</i> ...	Stanley Sharp
<i>A Note on Verse in British Honduras : Four Poems</i> ...	Raymond Barrow
<i>The Green Flash</i> ...	Fr. Raymond Devas

Vol. II, No. 3

<i>Extra Mural Programme</i> ...	Philip M. Sherlock
<i>The Emergence of Afro-Cuban Poetry</i> ...	G. R. Coulthard
<i>Marbial Valley Project</i> ...	Tibor Mende
<i>Eminent Scholars</i> ...	T. W. J. Taylor
<i>Some Notes on Sir Ralph James Woodford</i> ...	Gertrude Carmichael
<i>Birds of the West Indies</i> ...	Fr. Raymond Devas
<i>Management and the Agricultural Tradition in Puerto Rico</i> ...	Simon Rottenberg
<i>West Indian Society a Century Ago</i> ...	Philip M. Sherlock
<i>A Survey of Dialects in the British Caribbean</i> ...	R. B. Le Page

Vol. II, No. 4

<i>Four Poets of the Greater Antilles</i> ...	Eric Williams
<i>Universities</i> ...	Sir T. W. J. Taylor
<i>Digging Match</i> ...	Claude Thompson
<i>Salt Fish and Ackee</i> ...	J. H. Parry
<i>Outside the Walls</i> ...	Andrew Pearce
<i>The Problem of "Over-Population" in Puerto Rico</i> ...	Simon Rottenberg

Vol. III, No. 1

<i>Language and Folklore</i> ...	Frederick G. Cassidy
<i>My Life</i> ...	Frank Mayhew
<i>Creole—A Folk Language</i> ...	Elodie Jourdain
<i>Carriacou Dances</i> ...	
<i>A Rada Community in Trinidad</i> ...	Andrew T. Carr

Vol. III, No. 2

<i>Recent Developments in Race Relations in the United States</i> ...	George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger
<i>The Mud Volcanoes</i> ...	K. W. Barr
<i>Sir Charles Metcalfe</i> ...	D. G. Hall
<i>The Rise of the Village Settlements of British Guiana</i> ...	Rawle Farley
<i>A Note on Economic Policy in Tortola</i> ...	Simon Rottenberg

Vol. III, No. 3

<i>Citizenship in an Emergent Nation</i> ...	R. K. Gardiner
<i>The Archives of Jamaica</i> ...	Clinton V. Black
<i>Research and the Lay Scholar</i> ...	M. W. Barley
<i>The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica 1834-1838</i> ...	D. G. Hall
<i>Alexandre Petion</i> ...	Dantes Bellegarde
<i>West Indian Reptiles</i> ...	Garth Underwood
<i>On Being a West Indian</i> ...	H. W. Springer

Vol. III, No. 4

<i>Trinidad Town House</i> ...	Colin Laird
<i>French and Creole Patois in Haiti</i> ...	Edith Efron
<i>The Choice and Use of Words</i> ...	Sir Thomas Taylor
<i>Form and Style in a Bahamian Folktale</i> ...	Daniel J. Crowley
<i>Coco and Mona</i> ...	M. Sandmann
<i>Antonio Maceo</i> ...	J. A. Borome

Price : 50 cents (B.W.I. or U.S.) or 2/1 U.K. per issue. (post free)

Editor's Notes

THE articles in the present double issue of *Caribbean Quarterly* are devoted mainly to the Carnival of Trinidad, for which she is justly famous. We are extremely glad to be able to include with these articles one on the Carnival of New Orleans by Munro Edmonson, an anthropologist at Tulane University. We do not claim that we have been able to publish the results of a comprehensive study of Trinidad's Carnival. That must wait. But a considerable amount of work was done on it in connection with the Local Studies Programme of the Extra-Mural Department under the direction of Andrew Pearse, and two interesting exhibitions of Carnival costumes and paraphernalia were held at the Museum of the Royal Victoria Institute. Material for a sociological analysis of Carnival, recordings of other Carnival "languages", data on techniques and crafts, recordings of Carnival music and further historical material on the Canboulay Era have been collected, and await further work before publication. The authors of the Trinidad articles worked closely together, and owe much to one another, and also to a very large number of informants and collaborators, including:

Old Carnival : P. Jones, R. Fortuné, V. Layne, L. Wehekind, T. Searl, L. Guerra, M. Estaba, King Pharaoh and S. Supersad.

Dragon Band : C. Manners, C. Bennett, B. Willkie, C. Young, Patrick Jones, E. B. Inniss, W. La Borde, E. Harper, V. Forde, R. Philip, K. Andrews, E. Taylor, G. Wilson and D. Jones.

Sailors : L. Warner, H. Lovelace, N. Jules, W. Maclean, R. Romain, P. A. Davidson, A. Drayton, F. Henry, S. Jackman, L. Joseph, J. Gittens, O. Pile, F. Wallace, O. Chase and G. Dominique.

Devils and Jab-Jabs : B. Charles, C. Ascevero and K. Williams.

Midnight Robbers : V. Wilson, C. Bostock, L. Russell, H. Burke, D. Rennie and J. Seebran.

Indians : H. Jackman, C. Pierre, C. Lasselle, N. Inniss, K. Shepherd, K. Wong, L. Carthy, C. Bomparte, R. Philip, C. Celestine, A. Bideau, H. Besson, C. de Gale, E. MacDougall, G. Beatty, D. MacAuley, P. MacIntyre, T. Howard, R. Petty, E. Mannette, G. Scott, E. Payne, K. Singh, K. de Boissiere, E. Drayton and W. King.

Pierrot Grenade : Bill MacKenzie, Edward Bayack, J. Ramon Fortuné, L. Wehekind, George Borde and H. N. Fahey.

Minstrels : D. Jobity, C. Wilkes, L. Charles, V. Hobson,
and K. Savary.

Historical : H. Babilon, C. C. Dixon, K. Roshard, W. Joseph,
L. Samaroo, H. Saldenha, B. Ammon, I. McWilliams, N. Aming,
O. Williams, M. Lai, P. Frederick, V. Jones, H. Ewing, E. Timothy,
H. Tillett, H. Cartner and O. Bernard.

Others : E. Houlder, A. Grant, M. Ammon, C. Savary, C. King,
H. Hosang, M. Lee Kow, W. Shepherd, St. C. Preston, Lennox Pierre,
Raymond Quevedo, S. Atteck, C. Chang, C. Laird, C. Ward,
S. Espinet, R. Sharma, M. Jackman, H. Gonsalves and R. Chanka.

Photography : Eugene Beard.

Drawings : Carlyle Chang.

Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad

ANDREW PEARSE

The following is a discussion of the form and content of the institution of Carnival in Trinidad, viewed from the point of view of the changing culture and social structure of that island.

PRE-EMANCIPATION SOCIETY AND ITS CARNIVAL—1783-1833

We are not here concerned with the origins of Carnival outside Trinidad, and so on account of the insignificance of the population before 1783, and the lack of evidence of any institution of Carnival before that date, we may use it as a zero-point. The population was as follows:—

		<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Slave</i>	<i>Indian</i>
Spanish	...	126	245	310	2,000

During the next 14 years following the opening of Trinidad, a Spanish colony, to Catholic settlers of all kinds, the main immigrants were (a) French colonists and their slaves from Dominica, St. Vincent, Martinique and Grenada, unsettled on account of hostilities between Great Britain and France, (b) French white and coloured planters and their slaves upset by the revolutionary disturbances in St. Domingo, Guadeloupe and Martinique and (c) republicans, and other unsettled persons from islands temporarily held by the French and at that time (around 1794) returning to British rule. These included Jacobins, and "Brigands" as they were called by the British, i.e., bands of ex-slaves who resisted or fled to Trinidad when the British re-took their islands. The slaves were mainly Creole. Thus, in 1797 the population was:

		<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Slave</i>	<i>Indian</i>
Spanish	...	150	200	300	1,127
French	...	2,250	4,700	9,700	

In the period which followed, changes took place: (a) a considerable number of French white and coloured free citizens left the island for the Spanish Main (b) English carpet baggers, merchants, a few planters bringing slaves, and free coloured from British islands entered (c) a large number of slaves was imported direct from Africa (d) a large immigration of coloured people from the Spanish Main entered the island.

The main sources of information on which this article is based are the newspapers of Trinidad which are to be found in the vaults of the Registry at the Red House and the Trinidad Public Library. My thanks are due to the Registrar General, Mr. Hector Deeble, and the Librarian of the Public Library, Mr. Carlton Comma, for the help they gave, and to Miss Ursula Raymond for her help in excerpting information from the late Nineteenth Century papers.

1803:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Slave</i>	<i>Indian</i>
Spanish	... 505	1,751	20,464	?
French	... 1,093	2,925		
British	... 663	599		

The most marked additions to the population in the period which followed were (a) the arrival of American freed slaves who had served with British Forces 1812-13 in Virginia, (b) the settlement of disbanded African soldiers of the West India Regiment and of freed slaves taken from slave-trading vessels, (c) a large influx of peons from the Spanish Main, a proportion of whom returned thither.

By 1826 the population was:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Slave</i>	<i>Indian</i>
Spanish or Colonies	... 450	2,154	Creole: 15,291	655
French or Colonies	... 617	2,150		
British or Colonies	... 938	1,594		
African	...	1,450	African: 7,832	
American	...	1,056		

The nature of Trinidad society just before capitulation is important because, despite the many and varied immigrations, a pattern of rural life was firmly drawn by the French, whose exceptional pioneering work established, between 1783 and 1797, 468 plantations, covering 85,000 acres, of which 37,960 were already cultivated, with 159 sugar mills, and 130, 103 and 70 undertakings growing and processing coffee, cotton and tobacco respectively.

The most reliable account of this society is given by Borde in his *Histoire de la Trinidad*.

He depicts the French planters of Trinidad as a true rural aristocracy, "authorised to wear the sword of Louis XIV . . . , a veritable aristocracy of colour no whit less urbane or distinguished than an aristocracy of blood". They appear to have been a close-knit group, and they sought their rewards in their country of adoption, establishing a fairly comfortable standard of living and maintaining "vastes mais modestes manoirs champêtres", usually near rivers, with orchards and pasturage near the house. Whilst they continued to import their wines, they adapted the cuisine of Bordeaux to creole fish, meat, fruit and vegetables and learnt the use of the local flora for making "tisanes" and medicaments. The women, following the style of Bordeaux, wore white, but adorned their heads and necks with the brightly coloured "madras" and foulard. The older men continued to wear culottes, with pigtail or powdered hair, though the young men took to the pantaloon which was becoming popular in France at the end of the century. The cordial relations existing between the French plantocracy were expressed in varied "divertissements", concerts, balls, dinners, hunting parties and "fêtes champêtres", and these were especially concentrated into the Carnival season, which lasted from Christmas to Ash Wednesday. This was in the driest and coolest time of the year, before the worst rush of the cutting of the canes begins, and when least

attention needed to be given to agriculture. The gatherings of the Carnival season were characterised by "a contagious gaiety, brilliant verbal sallies, and comic buffoonery which made the subject of the morrow's conversations."

We must be on our guard against a tendency natural in Borde's description to idealise French society in Trinidad, but there are clear indications that its members, emerging from their homes, or entertaining therein, sought and found recognition amongst their peers by excelling in elegance, sophistication and ability in the arts, conversation, dress, music and hospitality, according to provincial French standards, rather than regarding the West Indian colonies as places to be tolerated for the sake of a quick fortune, the fruits of which might be enjoyed in the metropolitan country, as was often the outlook of the English planter or absentee owner. It was characteristic of the French through most of the Nineteenth Century, that they should send their children to school in France *at all costs*. Certainly Port-of-Spain seems to have had blossoming pretensions to a gay and cultural urbanity during the first three decades of the Nineteenth Century, based on a considerable prosperity. Eckstein, some of whose notes were published posthumously in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* during 1840, speaks facetiously of this development as follows: "At this period of the history" (approximately 1806) "of our Experimental Island, the town Society could not yet boast of sufficient stock of elegants to assume a *bon ton* and the *haut ton*, to which it has since so rapidly aspired, and was scarcely suspected. The seductive soirées at Mademoiselle Annie's—the fascinating Ninon of Trinidad, collected at this time the male beau-monde round her sofa, or the harpsichord . . ." and of the 1820's "Satiated with the ordinary indulgences of the human appetite, the relish of higher society became so exquisite, that while scores of old pianofortes stand silent . . ., nothing less will now soothe the modern ear than Parisian-tuned harps, from the Atelier of an Ekhard. None other must touch the bosom of the finished boarding-school Miss, except a pedal lyre . . . By the sacred honour of the lovely muses I aver, that the Apollos and the Amphions of Musical Antiquity never consumed so many strings as are snapped at one soirée of the tight-laced dilettantes of our Port-of-Spain". And Colonel Capadose, who was in Trinidad during the 1830's, reports in his *Sixteen years in the West Indies*, that at one period (probably early 1820's) there were three theatres and five companies in Port-of-Spain, two of which were professional, one being French and the other English.

Although the French upper class suffered dilution at the hands of the British Planters who entered Trinidad on a large scale, particularly after 1802, they remained in the ascendant in the country areas, and in the City they seem to have set the tone. The "English Party" continued to be regarded by the Governors and the British Government as "adventurers" and their request for the replacement of Spanish Law by English Law was not acceded to until much later. Governor Woodford (1815-1826) was at great pains to preserve cordial relations with the Roman Catholic authorities (most of his subjects being such) and was a personal friend of the Roman Catholic Bishop.

But while the pattern of the white upper class was modified somewhat, the position of the Free Coloured underwent great changes following the Capitulation.

Under the Spanish Regime, they ranged from the coloured and black slave-owning planters and traders to artisans and petty cultivators. Some of the planters came from families which had been substantial property holders in their place of origin, and were similar in language, customs, dress, &c., to the French, though smaller in number. In their new homeland, these planters predominated in the Naparimas (South Trinidad), and it was they, according to Borde, who built the best of the early town houses in Port-of-Spain. According to earlier Spanish law the Free Coloured were a legal class subject to a variety of legal restrictions as against whites, but nevertheless having certain rights secured to them. But the Cedula of Population (1783), and later the terms of Capitulation to Great Britain superseded this discriminatory legislation and endowed them with legal status almost equal to that enjoyed by the whites. Chacon, the Spanish Governor, undoubtedly administered the although they lived socially separate from the Whites, yet Borde insists that law in this spirit. Free Coloured were commissioned in the Militia, and, "il est de tradition authentique la plus parfaite entente existait alors entre . . . les deux fractions de la société coloniale".

The artisan class, though definitely of more humble condition, were much favoured in a decade of exceptionally rapid entrepreneurial development, involving new buildings, installation of machinery, &c., and enjoyed good wages, respect and responsibility. They became owners of artisan-slaves, and were able to acquire other property in land and real estate so that they or their children could progress towards entry into the *société de couleur*.

By 1826 the content of the Free Coloured section was radically different. It still included these two classes of culturally-French, amounting to a quarter of the legal category of Free-Coloured. A further quarter were from the Spanish Main, consisting of unsettled peons, who worked by contract as woodcutters, or hunted for livelihood, or frequented Port-of-Spain, and others uprooted by Civil War. Coloured artisans, overseers, bookkeepers, cultivators, &c., from the British West Indian Colonies amounted to about a fifth, freed American Negroes and Africans from the West Indian Regiment about one-eighth each.

This varied assortment of free coloured presented a serious problem to successive Governors, but all appeared to share a common policy in one respect, namely, they sought to remould the society into a clearly hierarchial structure in which the élite should be exclusively white, and the free coloured excluded from the social and political privileges of the élite. The successive steps in implementing this policy were: (1) They no longer received commissions in the Militia; (2) The office of Alguacil, or police, feared by slave and despised by white, was ascribed exclusively to them; (3) The "Fandango licence", a discriminatory regulation, was passed making it necessary for "any free coloured proprietor wishing to give a dancing party in the night" to "first obtain permission to do so from the Commandant of the Quarter", and at the same time they were "forbidden under penalty of a fine of \$25 to admit any slave to the party"; (4) During the long struggle to decide whether Trinidad should continue to be governed under Spanish law, or should adopt a form of British Colonial Constitution, the free coloured felt themselves particularly threatened by the demands for the latter, not merely

because they feared the loss of privileges, but because they feared the racist temper of the "English Party". In 1810, knowing that the introduction of British Laws was being proposed, they addressed the Governor in the most loyal and respectful manner requesting permission to forward to H.M. the King "a dutiful, loyal and affectionate address imploring him to extend unto them, under whatever system of jurisprudence His Royal wisdom may deem most expedient for the future government of the colony, such a participation in its operation as may secure to them their personal security and social happiness". This request was repressed curtly by Hislop the Governor, who proceeded to appoint a Commission to enquire into the personal characters and antecedents of the signatories, several of whom were subsequently banished on flimsy pretexts.

Spanish laws remained in force, but in 1822 Orders in Council were published which produced profound dissatisfaction, amongst the provisions of which was the establishment of an open Court of Alcaldes-in-Ordinary to try summarily and inflict punishment, including corporal punishment, street labour in chains, &c., for petty theft, and numerous breaches of regulations, on free persons of colour.

Dr. J. B. Phillip, accepted leader of the free coloured, headed a deputation to Sir Ralph Woodford on this above subject on behalf of 13,392 citizens in 1822.

In 1826 a Royal Proclamation was published removing "certain vexatious regulations", respecting free people of colour. Thereafter, although the legal status of the free man, the slave, and later the apprentice and the indentured labourer were differentiated, race and colour were no longer legally crucial factors.

Throughout the period under consideration (1784-1833) Carnival was an important institution for Whites and Free Coloured, particularly in the towns. But it was threatened by the special position of Christmas under British rule, which, during the first three decades of the nineteenth century seems to have predominated at the urban apex of society as the leading festival of the year.

This was due to the existence of a tradition in the colonies that Martial Law was enforced during the Christmas season. Amongst the English, Christmas—and amongst the Scots, New Year—were seasons of rowdy merry-making and licence, and in the older British West Indian colonies, the slaves were given considerable freedom for dancing, pageantry, parades and traditional good natured strife between plantation bands. Two concomitants of this tradition were (1) that while the practice of duelling was contrary to Civil Law, it was permitted under military law, and there was a tendency to put inter-personal conflicts which demanded duels into cold storage until Christmas; (2) the Christmas season came to be a time at which the whole status system was given outward expression through the vehicle of the Militia. All free persons were obliged by law to enrol. On account of the mustering of the militia, business was at a standstill, and the occasion became one not only for serious military duties, but also for balls, al fresco pleasures, and a variety of other amusements. In 1821—the Editor of the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* apologises on January 10th for his failure to comment on recent events, but pleads "military duties" in extenuation. In that year Martial Law lasted from

December 23 to January 8. In the Militia General Order issued on January 1, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief says he had wished to relieve "the Militia from their permanent duties on 2nd instant. The assembly of the General Court Martial, which unfortunately became indispensable, and the duties which crowded upon it, prevented this intention; and the Commander-in-Chief laments that so many well conducted officers and men should have been exposed to a protracted and severe duty by the heedlessness of a few". In that year the First Division of Militia was reviewed on the Cabildo Pasture on December 30. A day each was allotted for the review of the Second and Third divisions, belonging to Diego Martin and St. Joseph areas respectively, and the First Division was reviewed along with the regular Third West Indian Regiment. "His Excellency with his usual liberality, caused tents to be erected on the ground for the accommodation of spectators, who were plentifully supplied with refreshments . . . The Regiments going through their manoeuvres and firing, and the charging of the Cavalry, together with the novel appearance of the tents, and the assemblage of ladies formed a scene highly interesting". "On Saturday evening (Jan. 6) an elegant Ball and entertainment was given to a select party by H. E. the Governor at his seat at St. Ann's . . . the Band of the 3rd West Indian attended. There were fireworks on the lawn . . . and dancing up till a late hour . . ."

Or, to quote an anonymous rhymester of 1846 (*Port-of-Spain Gazette*, 20th January, 1846):

"When Xmas came in former days
The time for Martial schoolery
Three guns from Fort George battery were
The signal for Tomfoolery.

Then all our towns folk turned as red
As lobsters in hot water;
And, had there been an enemy
There might have been much slaughter!

But after vapouring a week
The scarlet fever vanished,
And till next Christmas Martial thoughts
Were from each bosom banished."

Carnival, as the end of the social season, was also marked at the apex of society by elaborate balls to which was added the custom of masking and disguising. But the major part of the Carnival activities consisted of house to house visiting and street promenading, on foot or in carriages, witticisms, playing of music and dancing, and a variety of frolics and practical jokes.

An English officer in 1826 writes to his friend: "I wish, Bayley, you had been here in the time of the carnival; you have no idea of the gaiety of the place in that season. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were nothing compared to the changes that took place in the persons of the Catholics of Trinidad. High and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, all found masking suits for the Carnival. A party of ladies, having converted themselves into a party of brigands, assailed me in my quarters and nearly frightened me out of my wits.

I was just going to cut and run when Ensign *——— who was with me, not knowing the joke, and thinking they were so many devils come to take him before his time, drew his sword . . ." (Bayley: *Four Years in the West Indies*.)

Fraser, in a memo to Governor Freeling on *History of the Origin of the Carnival*. [Colonial Office Original Correspondence Trinidad (Co. 295) Vol. 289—Trinidad No. 6460. On the outside of the Memo is written "This might go to Mr. Hamilton." (Commissioner sent out in 1881 to enquire into the Canboulay Riots) "Mr. Fraser I have understood was a very inefficient Head of the Police and he naturally stands for masterly inactivity. E.W. 14.4.] after referring to the surprising anomaly that "in an Island which never belonged to France even for a single day the French element so largely predominates", continues, "Such being the original elements of the population it will be easily understood that the habits and customs of the people of the Colony resembled those of the mother countries from whence they were derived and amongst these was the Carnival."

In former days and down to the period of the emancipation of the slaves the Carnival was kept up with much spirit by the upper classes. There are many persons still living who remember the Masked Balls given at St. Ann's by the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford, and also that the leading Members of Society used on the days of the Carnival to drive through the streets of Port-of-Spain masked, and in the evenings go from house to house which were all thrown open for the occasion.

It is necessary to observe that in those days the population of the Colony was divided into the following categories, Whites, Free persons of Colour, Indians and Slaves.

The free persons of Colour were subjected to very stringent Regulations and although not forbidden to mask, were yet compelled to keep to themselves and never presumed to join in the amusements of the privileged class. The Indians kept entirely aloof, and the slaves except as onlookers, or by special favour when required to take part, had no share in the Carnival which was confined exclusively to the upper class of the community."

Fraser's account is supported by the evidence, including that of Borde, and that of Ofuba the Chantwell, a slave, who sang of the "nèg dèyè pòtla"—the slave behind the door, mentioned in Mitto Sampson's article. Sampson also heard tell of Jack Howell, a slave, famous for his marionette dance, who was called in to dance at Carnival parties, and who was advertised as a "marron" or runaway from January 14, 1826, in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* at the end of that month (during the Carnival season).

It is most difficult to find out the nature of the disguises used at that period. The Ball at Mrs. Bruce's in 1831 was attended by "the beauty and fashion of Port-of-Spain composing a motley assemblage of elegantly dressed ladies, lovely Swiss damsels, French Marquises, English noblemen, grooms, postillions, priests and Friars . . .", but apparently there was a local creole element in Carnival at this time also. Writing in 1881 (*Port-of-Spain Gazette* 26. 3. 1881) an anonymous correspondent, in discussing the origin of "Canboulay" or "Cannes Brulées" tells us that in those days (1820's) "the élite of our society took an active part in the carnival. The favourite costumes of our mothers and grandmothers was the graceful and costly one of the

"mulâtresse" of the time; whilst gentlemen adopted that of the "nègres de jardin", or in creole "nègre jardin" or field labourer. In that costume, the gentlemen often figured in the "bamboola", in the "giouba" and the "calinda". It is traditional in our old families that General P. aide-de-camp to Governor Woodford, and Commander in Chief of the militia, with the P.G. who, though then 70 years of age, was still strong and robust, both excelled in the above-mentioned dances. These pretended *nègres de jardin* were wont to unite in bands, representing the camps of different estates, and with torches and drums to represent what did actually take place on the estates when a fire occurred in a plantation. In such cases the gang of the neighbouring estates proceed alternately accompanied with torches at night to the estate which had suffered to assist in the grinding of the burnt canes before they became sour."

Fraser makes no reference to an aristocratic version of Canboulay, but traces the later Carnival Canboulay to the same original source in the plantation. "In the days of slavery whenever fire broke out upon an Estate, the slaves on the surrounding properties were immediately mustered and marched to the spot, horns and shells were blown to collect them and the gangs were followed by the drivers cracking their whips and urging them with cries and blows to their work."

"After Emancipation the negroes began to represent this scene as a kind of commemoration of the change in their condition, and the procession of the 'cannes brûlées' used to take place on the night of the 1st August, the date of their emancipation, and was kept up much for the same reason as the John Canoe dance in Jamaica.

After a time the day was changed and for many years past the Carnival days have been inaugurated by the 'Cannes Brûlées'."

There are certain contrasts and similarities as between the two festivals of Christmas and Carnival of the pre-emancipation era which are relevant to the study of both during the subsequent 120 years. (1) Martial Law was declared at Christmas, and this not only broke the routine of daily work and allowed time for parties, but it also compelled participation of all free people in ceremonies (musters) which exactly demonstrated the order of social prestige after the pattern which the élite chose to enforce, thus stressing the downgrading of the middle and upper class free-coloured who still cherished the recollection of formal equality of status before capitulation, and, they claimed, guaranteed to them by its articles. On the other hand, Carnival enabled all the non-slave population to adopt fictitious social rôles, and indeed, in masking on the street at least, to overstep the social boundaries of colour. (2) The celebration of Christmas was closely associated with Church attendance, whereas Carnival was not, though observance of Lenten abstinences during the period following Carnival, appears to have been meaningful and acceptable to large sections of the population. Thus Carnival was more out of reach of this second superstructural agency. (3) The slaves were excluded from Carnival, but whether in African, or in Creole and European style were universally given licence at Christmas time, for dancing, feasting at the master's expense, some freedom of movement, and elaborate costuming.

After Emancipation, Christmas Martial Law lingered on, but with the suspension of the Militia Laws in 1846, the public aspect of Christmas pomp disappeared. What remained were the house-to-house visiting in the French tradition, with the singing of "quesh" or "Cantiques de Noel, and in the Spanish tradition, with the serenading with stringed instruments, and the family feasts on Christmas Eve.

Carnival however, had a different development.

POST-EMANCIPATION CARNIVAL

"After the Emancipation of the Slaves things were materially altered, the ancient lines of demarcation between the classes were obliterated and as a natural consequence the carnival degenerated into a noisy and disorderly amusement for the lower classes". (Fraser).

Immediately before Emancipation the free community was split sharply and the various factions were quarrelling. The *Port-of-Spain Gazette* of 1832 makes no mention of Carnival, the masquerade itself invades the columns of the newspaper as correspondents refer to one another as "Sir Richard Donkey", "Demon of Dullness", "Printer's Devil", "Sir Petulant Penman", &c.

In 1833 during January, "an attempt was made by Mr. Peake (Assistant to the Chief of Police) to check the shameful violation of the Sabbath by the lower order of the population, who are accustomed about this time of year to mask themselves and create disturbances on a Sunday. He arrested two persons who were in masks and lodged them in the Cage. On his return from performing this necessary duty his house was assaulted by a large concourse of rabble, who broke all the windows, and attacking Mr. Peake, pelted, beat and otherwise ill treated this officer" (*P.O.S. Gazette* 22.1.1833).

Shortly after this incident, there appeared in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* a peremptory Police notice forbidding the wearing of masks before 18th February, ending "Any person being found masked in the streets" (before this date) "will be immediately arrested and dealt with according to the Law". After Carnival 1834 the Editor of the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* comments "Nothing can more decidedly mark the great change which has taken place within this Colony than the want of spirit, and we might add, deficiency of elegant bustle, which was to be seen during the Carnival week in olden times". The writer walks through the town looking for persons *in character*. All he found deserving notice was a party of negroes intended to represent the Artillery. He looks for an imitation or caricature of reality, and has little praise for what he sees except "the two jolly Subs., (subalterns) who were done to the life". Marching and wheeling were "defective" and "the mockery of the best Militia Band that has ever been embodied in the West was in very bad taste". He decides, however, that there was no attempt at ridicule, but that the whole thing was a piece of fun. What is noticeable is the complete change of tone with regard to Carnival, from the former unctuous self-congratulation (expressed in phrases such as "the morning breeze of wit, usually breaking with the dawn of day, the periodical flaws of punning puffs were carefully concentrated in that more spirited epic style of jocosity to which character and dresses give the pantomimic zest") to the

apprehensive expectation of disgust tempered by condescension in case of disappointment.

During the next 30 years, the morphology of Carnival is difficult to trace. Certain facts, however, stand out clearly. The white élite of the society withdrew from public participation, and the comments of their journalistic representatives became increasingly hostile and condescending right through till the 1890's. It is true that on a few occasions brilliant fancy-dress balls were held, but the connection of these with the traditional Carnival became remote.

At the other end of the social scale, however, participation in Carnival increased, resulting in a change of content. The first public reaction to this appears in 1838, when Carnival was still permitted to run for three days (Sunday, Monday and Shrove Tuesday) by "Scotchman" who writes to the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* indignant over the "desecration of the Sabbath", and on whose letter the Editor comments: " We will not dwell on the disgusting and indecent scenes that were enacted in our streets—we will not say how many we saw in a state so nearly approaching nudity as to outrage decency and shock modesty—we will not particularly describe the African custom of carrying a stuffed figure of a woman on a pole, which was followed by hundreds of negroes yelling out a savage Guinea song (we regret to say that nine-tenths of these people were Creoles)—we will not describe the ferocious fight between the "Damas" and the "Wartloos" which resulted from this mummering—but we will say at once that the custom of keeping Carnival by allowing the lower order of society to run about the streets in wretched masquerade belongs to other days, and ought to be abolished in our own".

By 1843 the threat to the Sabbath had been broken by an order restricting masking thereafter to two days instead of three, and one of the results of this was that from this period on, Carnival was to begin on Sunday night. (See above on origin of Canboulay); but the only substantial comment during the decade came from the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* in 1848 when it is complained that "since midnight on Sunday, this festival has broken the slumber of our peaceable citizens with its usual noisy revelry and uproarious hilarity". No mention is made of obscenities, brawls or threatening behaviour, but a valuable reference is made to "bands of music (soi-disant) including those inelegant instruments, the tin kettle and salt box, the bangee* and shack shack.*

The degree of participation by the coloured middle-class is difficult to ascertain. The evidence seems to point to the following situations: (1) Carnival remained for them an important season of festivity and sociality, consisting of house to house visiting with small combinations of musical instruments, playing in the tradition of the Spanish Main, and also a variety of 19th Century Dances from Europe. It was cherished on account of the traditions of an earlier period when the standing of the class was less overshadowed. (2) Whilst avoiding association in the streets with the masses, this class was deeply resentful of any interference with Carnival by the Government, and

*bangee: probably the banja, or sanza, known to have been played in Trinidad by Africans, consisting of a box with steel or bamboo tongues of different pitches, grasped between the palms and plucked with two thumbs.

shack-shack: maraccas.

was ready to use it if necessary as a means of indirect attack on the Governor and the upper (white) class whenever the tension rose.

In 1846, on account of the general unrest in the city and the numerous cases of arson, the practice of appearing masked in the streets for Carnival was expressly forbidden by the Governor, the writer in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* commenting "we trust this will prove a final . . . stop to the orgies which are indulged in by the dissolute of the town at this season of the year, under pretence of Masking", and then, three days later, presumably in response to representations, the paper points out that the prohibition does not prevent bands of maskers dressing up and going from house to house, putting on the masks as they get to the houses. This seems to suggest a tardy realisation by the paper that Carnival *in toto* could not be threatened, and that at least the house-to-house visiting by the respectable class should be tolerated.

Carnival in 1847 was fortunately witnessed by Day, who gives us quite useful details of the various masquerades in *Five Years Residence in the West Indies*. "I was residing", he writes "in Trinidad during the Carnival, which commenced on Sunday, the 7th of March, at midnight. I had seen the Carnival at Florence, at Syra in Greece, and in Rome; and was now about to witness a negro masquerade, which, from its squalid splendour, was not unamusing, cheapness being the grand requisite. The maskers parade the streets in gangs of from ten to twenty, occasionally joining forces in procession. The primitives were negroes, as nearly naked as might be, bedaubed with a black varnish. One of this gang had a long chain and padlock attached to his leg, which chain the others pulled. What this typified, I was unable to learn; but, as the chained one was occasionally thrown down on the ground, and treated with a mock bastinadoing it probably represented slavery. Each masker was armed with a good stout quarterstaff, so that they could overcome one-half more police than themselves, should occasion present itself. Parties of negro ladies dance through the streets, each clique distinguished by bodices of the same colour. Every negro, male and female, wore a white flesh-coloured mask, their woolly hair carefully concealed by handkerchiefs; this, contrasted with the bosom and arms, was droll in the extreme. Those ladies who aimed at the superior civilization of shoes and stockings, invariably clothed their pedal extremities in pink silk stockings and blue, white, or yellow kid shoes, saddled up their sturdy legs. For the men, the predominating character was Pulichinello; every second negro, at least, aiming at playing the continental Jack-pudding. Pirates too were very common, dressed in Guernsey frocks, full scarlet trowsers, and red woollen cap, with wooden pistols for arms. From the utter want of spirit, and sneaking deportment of these bold corsairs, I presumed them to have come from the Pacific. Turks also there were, and one Highlander, a most ludicrous caricature of the Gael, being arrayed in a scarlet coat, huge grenadier cap, a kilt of light blue chintz, striped with white, a most indescribable philibeg, black legs of course, and white socks bound with a dirty pink ribbon. There were also two grand processions, having triumphal "wains", one of which was to commemorate the recent marriage of a high law-officer; the other, judging from the royal arms in front (worth a guinea of anybody's money, if only for the painting—the lion looking like a recently drowned puppy), and a canopy of red glazed

calico, trimmed with a silver tinsel, shading a royal pair, who, in conscious majesty, sat within, represented the Sovereign pair of England. This brilliant cortege was marshalled forward by a huge negro, in a celestial dress, made after the conventional fashion of the angel Gabriel; and who stalked along spear in hand, as if intent on doing dire deeds. The best embodiments were the Indians of South America, daubed with red ochre; personified by the Spanish peons from the Main, themselves half Indian, as testified by their exquisitely small feet and hands. Many of these had real Indian quivers and bows, as well as baskets; and, doubtless, were very fair representatives of the characters they assumed. In this costume, children looked very pretty. One personation of Death, having what was understood to be a skeleton painted on a coal-black shape, stalked about with part of a horse's vertebra attached to him, and a horse's thigh bone in his hand; but his most telling movements only elicited shouts of laughter. I noticed that whenever a black mask appeared it was sure to be a white man. Little girls dressed à la jupe, in the *vrai créole* negro costume, looked very interesting. All parties with the assistance of bands of execrable music, made a tremendous uproar; and most of us were glad when the priestly saturnalia was over."

In this list of masqueraders we can distinguish the persisting elements, of both European and Creole provenance, and we can note the apparent absence of the characteristic elements of the late Nineteenth Century Carnival. Pulichinello, model for the typical costume of a number of different later masquerades, the pirates, the Highlander, the Turk and Death are all out of the European tradition. The first of these is the guise of foolery, but it also came to be regarded as simply suitable for Carnival. The pirates, the Turk, and Death are incursive forces which threaten social life, while the Highlander is the strange and exotic. The representation of Royalty is as much in vogue today for Carnival as it was in then, and the marriage of the law-officer is in the same spirit in that it offers homage to a great one, a theme which became popular again at the end of the Century. *Little girls à la jupe* presumably refers to the costume of the late eighteenth century planters' wives and which remained the festival costume of the country women until a few years ago. It is certainly interesting that "red" Indians were played by peons themselves with a high degree of naturalism. At the turn of the century, Red Indians were played mainly by Negroes, were extremely combative and had a repertoire of songs and speeches in what purported to be the language of the Guarahoons or Warraus. As for the primitives, it is not at all clear what masque is referred to here, but the chained man (representing the slave?) may well be the father of the Beast in the Devils' Band. The prevailing elements of the Carnival which was to follow, however, are not remarked by the observer. Whilst maskers carry staves symbolic of a defensive-offensive posture in case of trouble, there is no suggestion that conflict between bands was institutionalised, as was happening 25 years later, nor that individual conflicts were to be expected as previously during Christmas festivities. Transvestism is not noticeable, though masking in the opposite colour is usual, i.e. black as white and white as black. Obscenity is not mentioned.

During the next ten years, Carnival comes to be regarded as increasingly disreputable. The use of Carnival as a means of ridicule and derision of the

pretentious emerges, and a demand grows amongst the dominant town group for its abolition. "None but the vilest of the vile . . . now think of appearing in public streets" to play mask, "why not forbid it altogether?" asks *A friend to mirth but enemy to jolly* in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* of January, 1856.

In 1858 Governor Keate, himself something of a bon-vivant, forbade masking. According to the *Gazette*, wearing masks in the streets had become a nuisance, and a pretext to other nuisances and offences against decency. More than two weeks before Carnival, a correspondent calling himself "DUTY" is complaining that "the noise, tumult and barbarian mirth which fill our streets every evening is greater than anything experienced hitherto even by the oldest member of the community". He notes that shopkeepers, in deference to the Governor's Order, are refraining from selling masks, but suggests that the police should stop the yelling and howling as well. The Order, however, was not obeyed. The police managed to arrest some maskers, and even persons who were not masked, as aiders and abettors, but the resistance was so turbulent that they were forced to withdraw. The crowds were finally dispersed by the arrival of the military. That resistance to authority on this occasion took an organised form is apparent from the fact that after the "defeat" of the police a band of Negroes 3,000-4,000 strong passing the police station, armed with hatchets, woodmen's axes, cutlasses, bludgeons and knives . . . had the bold temerity to give a derisive shout of triumphant defiance to the police . . ." Another correspondent makes it tolerably clear that "Canboulay" had by this time become an established part of Carnival: "In our towns . . . commencing with the orgies on Sunday night, we have the fearful howling of a parcel of semi-savages emerging God knows where from, exhibiting hellish scenes and the most demoniacal representations of the days of slavery as they were 40 years ago: then using the mask the two following days as a mere cloak for every species of barbarism and crime . . ."

Like the Canboulay crisis, the incidents of Carnival 1858 became the occasion for the expression of various latent hostilities and the crystallisation of viewpoints. *The Trinidad Sentinel*, a paper owned and edited by a Negro group, attacks the administration of Governor Keate for acting on the assumption that this English Colony should be made English in language, custom, manners, religion and habits of thought, if necessary by force. The *Port-of-Spain Gazette* rebutting the charge of colour prejudice (resulting from a letter by a passing traveller in facetious yet insulting terms about Negroes) takes the view that Carnival is undesirable because Messrs. A and C down to R and S in the alphabet of respectability are exposed to the vagaries of X, Y and Z, i.e., the lowest class. It also points out that "our respectable community would dwindle down small enough if it was deprived of coloured and black, and the list of rogues sadly lessens if deprived of some few of white skin."

After the upsurge of pro-Carnival feeling which followed Governor Keate's attempt at suppression, there is a marked decline in its social magnitude. In 1861 "those who had formerly exercised their right of masking . . . to protest against the interference of the authorities with such a time-honoured absurdity had no incentive this season to appear, and the display fell entirely into the hands of the idle and the vagrant". Whilst "not the usual number of unclad creatures who sometimes take advantage of the general laxity to outrage

public decency" appeared on the streets, there was "the usual ostentatious promenade of those ladies whose existence is usually ignored or accepted as a necessary evil". The only costumes to be mentioned are "the fantastic mummers who represent the continental pierrots". In 1866, at the west end of the town, there was "a fair burlesque of a recent trial before the Supreme Court here, in which the law was somewhat stripped of its dignity by the extravagant imitation given of one or two of the legal and lay personages who were engaged on that trial". In 1870 there is a clear reference to Canboulay: "an unremitting uproar, yelling, drumming and blowing of horns", starting on Sunday night, by the *fundus* of the population. And the year after we are told that Carnival, which becomes yearly "more thoroughly contemptible" is "dying a natural death".

JAMETTE CARNIVAL

But Carnival did not die a natural death, and within six years the *Gazette* could write: "The thing which with the majority of the lower classes here goes under the name of masquerading acquires a new strength and fresh vitality every year that it is tolerated"; and ten years after, in 1881, occurred the famous Canboulay Riots, a pitched battle between the Police and the organised masqueraders, in which the interests of many groups within the community became involved, and which was a national issue of the greatest importance. We are not here concerned with the issues raised by the Riot, some of which were well dealt with by the Commissioner, Mr. Hamilton, who was sent out from Britain to investigate the "causes and disturbances in connection with the Carnival in Trinidad". It is, however, a matter of special interest that during this period Carnival, not only in Port-of-Spain but in other parts of the Island, came to have a distinct character and significance for the society as a whole. It is described as "Jamette Carnival" because of the wide currency at that time of the word (*diamètre* or *diamèt*) which was applied to what almost amounted to a class in the community, the people below the diameter of respectability, or the "underworld".

The newspapers of the period give a clear picture of the features of Carnival which disturbed the authorities most, and comments, exhortations and criticisms about appropriate counteraction by police, church, and other public authorities.

In 1874 two important features appear, one of which was to be a public concern for the next 40 years, namely "vagabondage" and "bands". The *Gazette* calls for a Vagrancy Law and a Reformatory School, asserting that the Government has allowed the situation to deteriorate so far that "the present order of things does not permit our mothers, wives and sisters to walk the streets and promenades without having their senses shocked by sights and sounds in the fullest sense of the word "disgusting". The leading article speaks about "herds of disreputable males and females . . . organised into bands and societies for the maintenance of vagrancy, immorality and vice, and some of the most noted members are those who have paid their footing by an unlimited number of visits to the Royal Gaol". A week later, immediately after Carnival, warfare between bands is denounced . . . "all around, the dwelling houses and shops had to be closed so as to keep out the stones and broken bottles and

other missiles which were set in constant motion by the contending bands. There are, we are informed, about treble the number of bands as before and all were in active operation at the Carnival". To this writer, Carnival has indeed died out, owing to the loss of interest in it by the better classes, but "the name and season is but a cloak for the shameless celebration of heathenish and vicious rites of some profligate god whose votaries rival in excesses the profligacies and brutalities of Pagan Rome or Heathen India".

In 1875 Fraser, who was then Inspector of Police, realising the threat to public order in these organised bands, proposed that the Habitual Criminals Act provisions should apply to persons guilty of offences and belonging to "the bands, which under different names infest the colony and are fruitful sources of immorality and crime". (*Royal Gazette* 15/6/75).

In 1876 the police are mildly criticised for unnecessary harshness especially in the use of batons, whilst in San Fernando Fitz Simmons, in charge of the Police, swore in 24 of the local gentry to intervene between two rival bands reported to be squaring up for war on Canboulay night.

In 1877 Fraser was dismissed as too weak, and was replaced by the redoubtable and famous Capt. Baker. It appears that he succeeded in controlling the Carnival in 1878 and 79 sufficiently to avoid breach of peace by the "savage and ferocious hordes", and the *Gazette's* wrath is concentrated on obscenities. With these successes behind him, he proceeded to attempt the suppression of Canboulay in 1880 by calling on the participants to surrender their sticks, drums and flambeaux, to which demand they agreed. It seems to have been widely believed that the police action of 1880 was a step towards the suppression of Canboulay and Carnival, and there is good reason to credit the conclusion of Hamilton that an organisation was formed to resist police interference, and that the bands planned to operate in concert in 1881, should the police take action against them. In the event, Capt. Baker, contrary to the wishes of the Governor, once again attempted to extinguish the torches carried by the Canboulay bands, and met organised and vibrant resistance which the police succeeded in quelling, though 38 of the detachment of 150 police were injured. On the following day the Governor, having ordered the confinement of the police to barracks, reinforced their numbers with 50 soldiers, and swore in 43 volunteer special constables, and then, at the instigation of the City Council, addressed the people at the Eastern Market, telling them that Government had no desire to interfere with their customs, and enjoining them to keep the peace.

By making a personal appeal to the masqueraders, the Governor took an important step towards re-establishing a relationship based on mutual consent between the populace in its Carnival formation and the authorities. The progress of Carnival towards its present position as a national festival, in which the total society is involved, is marked by similar accommodation. Fitz Simmons in San Fernando consulted with the leaders of the bands in San Fernando in 1881. In 1882 twelve band leaders in Port-of-Spain made a deputation to the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* asking the paper to use its influence on "some Bands, composed mostly of strangers" to prevent them inciting rioting and disorder. Indeed, Hamilton (the Commissioner) draws attention to the dangers inherent in the gap between the authority of a non-responsible

colonial Government and the consent of the populace—"In my view it is of great importance, more especially in a Crown Colony where the people are not represented in the Government that they should as it were be taken into council in a matter of this *port*, as by this means I fully believe they may often be got to acquiesce in a course which they would resent if it were forced upon them".

From this point onwards, and most noticeably during the 1890's Carnival is gradually upgraded socially, and brought under more effective control by the Police. First Canboulay is stopped by forbidding street parading before 6 a.m. on the Monday morning. Bands of more than 10 men carrying sticks are forbidden, pierrots are obliged to get a police licence, *pisse-en-lit* bands, transvestism, obscene words and actions are prohibited. The paving of the roads and more effective collection of old bottles deprived the warlike traditional weapons. The white élite once again attend glittering Fancy Dress Balls at Government House, and the middle class citizens turn out in the afternoons, masked and disguised in their carriages, and accompanied by music bands. College boys form up in street bands, and store clerks organise Fancy Bands. The Carnival competition in Marine Square organised by Papa Bodi (or Councillor Bodu, author of *An Historical Account of Trinidad*, and a noted teetotaler) had the express aim of "improving the moral tone of Carnival". Lord Executor, still regarded as perhaps the greatest of Calypso singers, was a balladeer consistently moralising and didactic in tone. The business men of Port-of-Spain, San Fernando and Arima were now fully alive to the commercial benefits which Carnival showered upon them. From 1890 onwards Carnival moved spasmodically forward to the place it holds to-day.

Thus Carnival has changed its social form three times. After Emancipation the element which had predominated formerly withdrew from active participation, and those who had hitherto been debarred from participation joined in tentatively and experimentally. About thirty years later, Canboulay became established as the midnight overture to Carnival, and for the next twenty years its dominant element, whilst the moving spirits were the jamettes of the underworld. Towards the end of the Century the festival re-emerged and began to move "upwards" towards the position it occupies today, namely, acceptable to and practised by all the main sections of the community with the exception of the older generation of stricter Protestants and the less acculturated East Indians.

Of the first of these changes we have spoken already. The second arises out of the peculiar features of Trinidad's development. This can best be understood by use of the concepts "superstructure" and "folk", and their interaction. By *superstructure* we mean the interwoven administrative, legal, economic and religious institutions stemming from the colonising power (or its predecessor) and supported by it. By *folk* in this case we mean the people living within the above framework, the major part of whose culture has been transmitted to them from sources other than those of the superstructural institutions, though they may have appropriated some elements of the latter. The controlling positions in the superstructure are manned by an élite, usually having broad common interests including a shared general policy with regard

to the society as a whole. In Trinidad the superstructure was by no means monolithic. There were persistent antagonisms between the British administration and the French landed gentry, and sharp collateral competition between the Catholic and Protestant religious institutions. But there was agreement as to public order, a hierarchical status system grouped beneath the office of Governor, a recognised system of behaviour as between one class and another, and the existence of an effective and productive labour force, Christianisation and "civilisation."

As for the folk, by 1860 its composition was extremely heterogeneous. There was a nuclear group consisting of (a) ex-slaves and their children, nurtured in both French and English plantation traditions, and speaking Patois and English respectively, mainly Trinidadian but including many immigrants from Barbados and other islands, and a few born Africans, (b) descendants of the non-slave small settlers, labourers and artisans of African and mixed descent, (c) free Africans to the number of about 7,000 who had immigrated during the preceding 20 years, and (d) Spanish speaking Peons. In spite of linguistic and other cultural differences, these four groups moved towards a form of Creole folk culture, symbolised by the tendency of most to adopt Patois (the area around Princes' Town, firmly settled by the descendants of the American Negro refugees, remained English speaking). Beyond this nucleus were other folk groups, Indians, Chinese and Portuguese all less ready to merge. Whilst estate work was being taken over increasingly by the East Indians, the nuclear group described above lived as occasional labourers, gardeners, semi-subsistence squatters, artisans in town and country, and fishermen. They were not under heavy economic pressure nor subject to tight control (as in the smaller islands without land resources) but were subject nevertheless to the influence of the institutions of the superstructure, such as law, churches and schools, and also to the influence of the manners and customs of the élite. Thus a type of rural life established itself in which law and custom, the African drum and the fiddle, the country doctor and the bush healer, the Catholic liturgy and the cults of Yorubaland and Dahomey, school English and Patois, lived side by side in easy accommodation, and a dual acculturative process took its course—creolisation, and accommodation to the institutions and standards of the superstructure.

The conditions of urban life in Port-of-Spain, however, give a characteristic twist to this process which is highly relevant to the history of Carnival. During the twenty years which followed 1860 the city prospered and the population grew from 16,457 to 29,468, of which latter figure 40 per cent. were born outside Trinidad. The city itself was compact and well laid out in blocks fronted by tolerably well built houses and shops. But behind the perimeter of each block were barracks, often simply long wooden structures set against the walls dividing lots, and chopped up into rooms each of which might contain a family grouping belonging to the labouring classes. Just beyond the confines of the town were scattered ill controlled settlements, some of whose inhabitants worked in the city.

The barrack yard community, which still exists in Port-of-Spain, has a certain character. Accommodation is such that there can be little privacy, and the yard in the centre becomes a common living place. Water and latrines are

common facilities, and there is competition for their use. Deep antagonisms develop which burst out at times, but are largely restrained. A sensitive public opinion develops in the yard and expresses itself sharply. Few actions escape its scrutiny. An order of domination is built up in a series of encounters between rivals. In many respects the barrack life of the city is closer to the life in the plantation barracks, except that the superimposed order and control of the latter is missing. Antagonisms are relaxed from time to time by fêtes, when the traditional pastimes of dancing, singing and stick-fighting are enjoyed, with liquor and food. At other times the antagonisms are projected into hostility to the outside world, particularly into sharp conflict with rival yards. Thus in the pre-Carnival period, during the rehearsals of the yard bands, the "chantwell" or leading singer was expected to insult and provoke rival bands in his "carisos" or Carnival songs, and when the yard stick-men went out into the streets, they sought out their rivals and single combats ensued. As a development from this, the bands of a region, lead by the champions, would form up together. Canboulay itself was a fight between regional bands in which the rules of single combat were forgotten, and sticks, bottles and stones, &c., became the weapons of the bands and their followers both male and female. And finally Canboulay, in 1881 and on a few other occasions, took on a class character, with the disappearance of band rivalries in united action against the police. It was the singers, drummers, dancers, stickmen, prostitutes, matadors, bad-johns, dunois, makos and corner-boys, that is to say the jamette class, who dominated the Carnival of the day. It must be borne in mind that barrack-yard society was not isolated in one quarter of the town, but back to back with the houses of the middle and upper classes. Its members were not only constantly confronted with the display of cultural standards of the higher social ranks, and thus aware of their distance from them, but paradoxically closely associated with them, especially through the women who were servants and often the predominant influence in the lives of the children. On the other hand, middle-class men would seek liaisons with the women of—and on the fringes of—the jamette world, and some of them became patrons of yard bands and even stickmen themselves, or "jacket-men" as they were called on account of their superior class which was suitably marked in their dress.

Thus there existed a jamette sub-culture the ethos and myth-making character of which finds expression in Mitto Sampson's article. Its bearers were often recognisable by gait and dress, and were organised in bands for gambling, stickfighting and exploiting women. The qualities they boasted included skill and bravery in "bois" or stickfighting, sharpness of wit and repartee in conversation and in song, talent in dance and music, indifference to law and authority, and great sexual accomplishments. Some even were blasphemers and claimed to be of the Devil's party. Thus they represented the reversal of the values of respectability and a flamboyant rejection of the norms of the superstructure. The labouring classes generally, to which they belonged, aspired to respectability, but they felt excluded from enjoyment of the fruits of their aspirations by their colour, traditional mores, lack of education and poverty, and took vicarious delight, both covert and overt, in seeing it overturned and ridiculed by the jamettes.

It is not difficult to see why for 20 years Carnival was in the hands of the jamettes. The festival itself is the occasion for licence and the reversal of roles and values. But after it ceased to be a significant part of the culture of the elite at Emancipation, it had no clear direction, content or organisation, and while its content accumulated from the folklore of the diverse groups in the island, its organisation fell to the organised bands of the underworld. The Canboulay clash was the logical outcome of this, and it had two important results. On the one hand, the government finally became aware of the importance of Carnival, and the implications of a licence to reverse values for a few days each year, so they set about purging and controlling it, whilst they attacked and broke the power of the jamettes' bands. On the other hand, police intervention on Canboulay night brought to a head several different types of existing hostility to the administration, causing new social groups to identify themselves nominally "the People" and the people's festival, so that Carnival began to be a symbol for a national sentiment shared by a broad section of the community, and in opposition to the administration, manned largely by British (i.e. "foreign") officials. Given the exclusion of warfare and practical obscenity from Carnival, these social groups began to participate, and Carnival has since moved forward to its present position as the most important and characteristic national festival of Trinidad.

The Traditional Masques of Carnival

DANIEL J. CROWLEY

CARNIVAL'S basic structural unit is the masque band made up of any number of masquers, from two to eight hundred. The word "masque" indicates that the band wears costumes based on a theme from history, current events, films, Carnival tradition, from the imagination, or from a combination of these. It is thus differentiated from "mask", the covering of the face and/or head sometimes worn by the masquers. In local pronunciation both are "mas"¹ but are clearly differentiated concepts in the minds of the masquers. The kinds of masques played in the last hundred years of Carnival are extremely varied, suggesting that Carnival is a major focus of culture for the urban Trinidadian.² He spends more time and thought, has a more extensive vocabulary, and is more praised for innovation in the creation of Carnival masques than in any other aspect of his culture. This paper is an attempt to trace some of the major traditions of Carnival, whether these traditions originated in medieval Europe, in West Africa, or in last year's Carnival. Because of the embarrassment of riches in research about Carnival, a great deal has been omitted because of the limitations of space. It is hoped that what has been included will give an adequate survey of the traditional bands, and serve as a basis for future documentation.

RARE AND EXTINCT BANDS

Negre Jardin and Batonnier

Perhaps the most ancient traditional masque is that of the "nèg jadé"³ the masque of the kanbulé carnival. As early as 1860 the nèg jadé was so much a traditional carnival masque that the *Trinidad Sentinel* describes how in the distant past "princes and lords of the land paraded in sooty disguise of the negre jardin," and how even residents of Government House mimicked their "garden niggers."⁴ Later this aristocrat's masque was adopted by batonyé or stick fighters as the appropriate costume for "kalenda" or stick fighting. This sport in its several forms⁵ is related to English cudgels or quarterstaves.

¹It is often so spelled. A costume received for the Carnival Exhibition was carefully labelled "beas mas".

²M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, *Trinidad Village*. (New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 6, 303.

³The orthography used for Creole patois in this paper is the same as that in the Pierrot Grenade text by Andrew Carr, see below, p. 286. It is based on the Laubach phonemic system used in Haiti, and stresses the fact that Creole is a language in its own right, and no more "broken French" than French is "broken Latin".

⁴*Trinidad Sentinel*, Feb. 2, 1860, p. 3, col. 3. Also see above, Andrew Pearse, "The 19th Century Carnival in Trinidad," p. 182.

⁵It will be remembered that Little John appears in Robin Hood tales as a quarter-staff fighter. "Kalenda" is both a sport and a dance miming the sport. "Bajan stick" is a different sport known in Barbados. Trinidad East Indians play "gutkar," a stick-fighting dance.



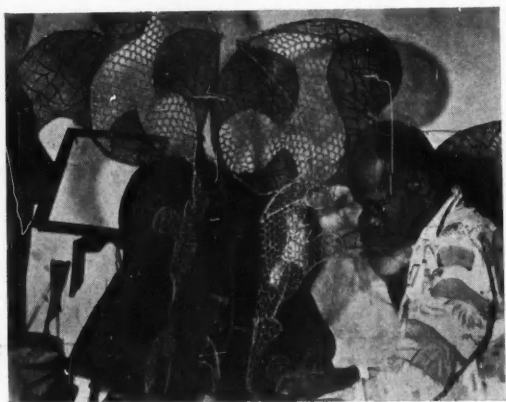
SAILOR BAND



HISTORICAL BAND



OFFICERS OF SAILOR BAND



BEAD WORK FOR FANCY CLOWN COSTUME



MUSICIANS OF HISTORICAL BAND

Five to twenty stickmen formed a band and went about the streets on Carnival days fighting rival bands. Both groups were accompanied by drummers and/or bamboo bands, and by "zom kamisol," (jacket men), masked middle-class supporters who wore suit jackets, still the badge of middle-class status. On Mondays the batonyé themselves wore ordinary trousers turned inside out, called "wrongside pants", and their belts were strung with ribbons and coloured handkerchiefs. They wore bright shirts and headties holding pads to protect their heads from blows of the "pou" or stick. These headties were called "fula" from French *foulard*.

On Tuesdays nèg jadè wore "kandal", tight-fitting satin or velvet short trousers, which in this costume extend to just above the knee, and with it an embroidered shirt or short-sleeved jacket with a "fòl", or heart-shaped panel of cloth of contrasting colour sewn loosely or fastened with hooks-and-eyes over the chest. The fòl was decorated with swansdown, rhinestones, and mirrors, and each stickman aimed to "lick off" his opponent's fòl and thus win the match. This costume was completed by "alpagats" or rope sandals, and a cap, hat, or paper crown decorated with spangles and swansdown. Sometimes the hat carried cow's horns, and all the headpieces covered a heavy pad or sometimes a cooking pot to protect the wearer's heads from blows. The costume was trimmed with "willows", (from "glè glè ulu", the onomatopoeic representation of their sound) which are small imported bells or home-made rattles of "galvanize" loosely bent around a pebble. No masks were worn, but the faces were brightly powdered or painted.

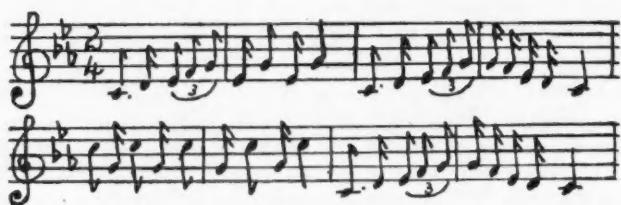
A favourite place for fighting stick in Port-of-Spain was "dèyè lajòl" or behind the jail in the present Lord Harris Square. The Mauvais Temps or "Bad Time" rumshop stood adjacent on the corner of Abercromby and Oxford Streets, where one could "cool your brains" after a fight. Batonyé bands came out from Belmont, Cobo Town, New Town, and Carenage, and from various country districts. Stickfighting has been hampered in recent years by a maze of police restrictions, so that batonyé are now seen only occasionally in the country villages. Kalenda songs and drumming survive in an intricate dance using a stretched handkerchief in place of the stick.

Dame Lorine

Dame Lorine was a masque played not in the streets but in private yards wherein street masques were in the process of preparation. At midnight on carnival Sunday the performance started. Originally there was a very elegant grand march of people dressed in the costumes of the French aristocracy of the 18th century. A haughty butler announced the mouth-filling names of each couple as they entered the stage. A stately dance was then performed, and a slave was seen peeping in the window, looking on in amazement.⁶ The next act was a parody of the first. The scene is a schoolroom, and the butler is replaced by a "maitre" or schoolmaster. He calls roll as the pupils assemble, and marks down their presence in a big book. The maitre wears a frock coat and carries a long whip, and his pupils wear ill-assorted clothes, mock crinolines, rags upon rags, and show the exaggerated physical characteristics suggested by such Rabelaisian names as Misié Gwo Koko, Ma Gwo Bunda, Misié

⁶Cf. "nèg dèyè pòtla," Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

Gwo Lolo, Ma Chèn Mun, Gwo Patat, Kokâ, Budê, Toti, or Misié Mashwê Tunê. These characteristics were represented by pads, coconuts, wood-carvings, masks, and the like, and there was much horseplay, with the school-master finally licking them with his whip. The dancing was done to a small string band, and the following tune is traditionally associated with the performance:



The performers in Dame Lorine, both men and women, were often respectable citizens whose identity was carefully hidden behind their masks and disguises. The audience was made up of people preparing their costumes in the yard, and their friends. In later years gay blades of the upper classes also attended, and even escorted a few daring masked women of their own class. Dame Lorine received a showing as late as 1945 in a Queen Street yard, and an amusing if bowdlerized version was given by the Stanley Jack "Caribbean Entertainers" dance troupe at Club 400 in 1955.

Pissenlit

A street masque similar in spirit to Dame Lorine was Pissenlit (wet-the-bed), also called Pizâli and Pizanê, and freely translated "stinker". It was evidently very popular the last quarter of the century and is often mentioned as being the most objectionable feature of Carnival in the long campaign for suppression. The masque was played exclusively by masked men dressed as women. They wore long nightgowns, often transparent, and decorated with ribbons and lace. Others wore very little except menstruation cloths liberally stained with "blood". They danced an early version of "winin", the rapid shifting of the pelvis backward and forward and from side to side, and sang songs which the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* in 1884 described as "obscenity of gesture and language".⁸ One of their number collected money from the bystanders. The dancing was accompanied by sexual horseplay including the use of a poui stick protruding between the legs, or a skirt gathered together in front in the manner of the Chiffonê dance of Carriacou. The masque became more and more objectionable until it was suppressed in the early years of this century.

Jamèt Bands

Still another masque that was suppressed on the grounds of obscenity was the "Jamèt", from French *diametre*, the underworld or "other half".⁹ The term currently signifies a prostitute, but as used in Carnival it meant the

⁸"Pissenlit, a disgusting and foul-smelling practice now practically stamped out," C. S. Espinet and H. Pitts, *Land of the Calypso*. (Port-of-Spain, Guardian, 1944), p. 53.

⁹*Port-of-Spain Gazette*, January 2, 1884, p. 3.

¹⁰Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

underworld in general. Jamèt women, who were said to be "matadors" or retired prostitutes gone respectable, were understandably always masked. They wore beautiful dresses of the traditional douillette type with many starched and embroidered petticoats over which their skirts were draped and caught up into their belts. They wore large hats decorated with "a set of flowers and feathers" over their headties, or men's fedoras over which a wreath of croton leaves had been placed. Their most startling characteristic, at least in some epochs and then only in certain streets was their habit of throwing open their bodices and exposing their breasts.

Their male counterpart, the Jamèt man (currently "sweet man") had trousers of serge or flannel worn low over the hips, and held up by two belts or rope or leather from which hung multicoloured silk kerchiefs and ribbons similar to the Monday costume of batonyé. Sometimes the Jamèt men wore a "guri" or cummerbund, the name deriving from Sir John Gorrie, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who had introduced the fashion from India. They also wore their brightly-coloured silk shirts unbuttoned to display the chains and gold jewelry around their necks. They completed their costumes with Panama hats decorated with feathers, and with gold fobs and key chains, thus foreshadowing the saga boys (Trinidad zoot suiters) of the '40's. They were also the ancestors of the Silky Millionaires, Railroad Millionaires, Nylon Millionaires and Tourists that still are played occasionally on Mondays. Both men and women danced and strutted through the streets, and talked to the bystanders in low, sultry voices while they collected money. Their actions were so much an affront to respectable society that they were put down in the '20's.

Fancy Bands

The term "Fancy Band" was used to describe any band which was "pretty", dressed in colourful velvets and satins, and boasting a variety of characters carefully graded from King and Queen downwards. It is still used in this sense occasionally, as a contrast to "old masque" bands where old clothes and coarse materials are used. Another definition is that a "Fancy Band" is any in which fans are carried.

The most famous fancy band of the pre-World War I period was led by Julian White Rose and carried his name (or vice versa). He wore a long cloak of green velvet edged in white swansdown and decorated with mirrors, an "Admiral's" hat bearing a long white ostrich plume, and he carried a long, gilded wooden sword. His followers wore white and green, the women in beautiful douillettes, the men in white flannel trousers, silk shirts, and the double belts and kerchiefs or ribbons of the batonyé and the Jamèt men. White Rose was famous for its calypsoes against its rival, the Artillery Band described below.¹⁰ There was a competition for these shâtswels (calypsonians) held in Almond Walk (the present Broadway) by "Papa" Ignacio Bodu, and other competitions by Mr. Siegert of Angostura Co. and Mr. C. P. Chin, a baker in Charlotte Street. An early calypso ran:

Down on the Almond Walk

Misié Bodu di mwê lavéwité (Mr. Bodu tell me the truth) (*twice*)

¹⁰See below, p. 200.

It's a double, and a treble
And a grand competition
Sanhumanité (without humanity or pity)

Another famous band was the Bluebell Band which carried a banner with a large bell painted on it, and an arch of bamboo from which was suspended a large paper bell. This band always came out in blue, the women wearing blue-and-white striped douillettes, the men in blue-striped shirts, flannel trousers, alpagats, and sailor hats.

Still another fancy band was the Baby Dolls, a group of women often of the jamèt class who wore short baby dresses exposing their legs, and large poke bonnets of the kind worn by babies. They seem to parallel in all respects the Baby Dolls of the New Orleans Mardi Gras.¹¹ The regular Jamèt Bands were also classed as fancy bands, suggesting still another derivation for the term, from "fancy women".

Moko Jumby

Moko Jumby, the stilt dancer, is known throughout the West Indies as a feature of John Canoe and other Christmas and Carnival fetes. In Trinidad he was played, nearly always by men, on stilts as high as 10 or 15 feet. The stilts were brightly painted in stripes, and the masquer wore a long full skirt and a jacket or "eton" of brightly-coloured satin or velvet. His hat was made of tòshò, the dried pulp of the wild cucumber (*Luffa aegyptiaca*) which was fashioned into an "Admiral's" hat with long peaks in front and back, and with the crown of the hat decorated with feathers. Moko Jumby was sometimes accompanied by a dwarf in similar costume but without stilts, to accentuate Moko's height. He danced all day through the streets, collecting money on a plate from the people crowded into second-floor windows and balconies. Thus he tapped an audience out of reach of the street masquers. His dance was similar to a jig, and he either used the music of any passing band, or was accompanied by a drum, triangle, and flute. In the past few years Moko Jumby has become virtually extinct because of the difficulty and danger for him to pass under the many high-voltage electrical wires that are strung across the city streets.

Congo or Shango Bands

This masque was usually played by five or six people, both men and women, who wore flowing satin trousers caught at the knees like knickers, a satin blouse, and a hat made of tòshò similar to that of Moko Jumby. The hat was fashioned with a round, thick brim and with a crown in the form of a truncated cone. The Congos or Shangos wore a shaplé (French: *chapulet*) or rosary of cashew nuts and palmiste seeds around their necks, and recited "African" prayers with fervor, satirizing local religious practices. They also sold charms made of "Jumby beads" (*Abrus precatorius* and allied species) and carried on "picong" or "fatigues", elaborate ribbing of each other and the bystanders. Sometimes they ridiculed prominent people and government officials with thinly disguised stories incorporated into their picongs.

¹¹See below, Munro Edmonson, "Carnival in New Orleans," p. 244.

In reality merely a gibberish, the following is an example of the prayer :
 Ram Bam Betsy Oru
 Oru Oru Giòshò
 Giòshò Giòshò Kéké
 Kéké Kéké Oru Gawwww!

Cattle or Cow Bands

The cow bands are another masque form which occurs in many places in the West Indies. Traditionally the masque was played in Trinidad by abattoir employees, often of Venezuelan origin, coming out of Tozi yard, 44 George Street. On Mondays they wore dry plantain leaves tied around their bodies from neck to knees, and cow horns fastened to their heads by headties. These "cattle" would charge at the "jènèl"¹² or bullfighter, who wore ordinary clothes and waved a red flag to enrage the "bull". Sometimes the cattle were "bareback" (shirtless), and wore ordinary khaki shorts and held the horns over their heads as they charged. They also threatened the bystanders and made loud mooing noises and clattered their shoes on the pavements. The shoes often had loose metal plates fastened to their soles to increase the noise.

On Tuesdays a "proper" cattle band wore yellow "etons" or short jackets, and pink kandal worn over long pink stockings. Sometimes these traditional colours were reversed, with pink eton and yellow kandal. The jènèl wore either a black hat with points at each side like a modern matador, or an "Admiral's" hat with peaks in front and back, and he carried a new red flag. The "bull" wore the same costume as the jènèl, but with the addition of a wire tail and with the matador hat replaced by a "fula" or headtie which held the protective pad and the cattle horns in place on the head. Faces were heavily powdered or painted in lieu of masks. The play was extremely energetic, with the jènèl and often some of the bystanders goaded by the horns, and the cow battered by a pikestaff carried by the jènèl. While the cows threatened bystanders, the jènèl collected money from them. These bands no longer appear in Port-of-Spain, but are said to come out in a few country villages.

Pai Banan

Until about fifteen years ago a masque called "Pai Banan" or Banana Trash was played in the country districts such as Chaguanas. As in the case of the Monday "bulls" above, the masquers wore dry plantain leaves covering their bodies, and their faces were masked with a brown cloth or papier mâché mask similar to that worn by Pierrot Grenade. The headpiece was a white cloth toque with two long wire antennae sticking upward, or sometimes cow horns held on with a fula. The Pai Banan "went around at night frightening people".

Other Extinct Masques

There are a great many other masques of more routine interest which have become extinct. A few of these are the fishermen who threw nets over

¹²This term may derive from the patois pronunciation of French *général*. It is translated "king of the band" or "starboy", and is described as the bullfighter who sticks the bull with metal-tipped wooden sticks, e.g. the banderillero.

their victims to extract money from them, the doctors, nurses, and hospital employees, the mental patients, prisoners in chains, snake charmers with real snakes, yard boys, ladies with babies in search of a father, trained bears and their trainers, and tailors who measured victims for clothes and then extorted payment. The Pierrot and Pierrot Grenade masques are discussed elsewhere in this issue.¹³

SAILOR AND MILITARY MASQUES

Bands with costumes based on military uniforms are among the oldest still extant in the Trinidad Carnival. As early as 1834 the "marching and wheeling" of an "Artillery" masque was considered defective.¹⁴ In 1859 a band called "The Veterans of Sebastopol" ran away "from the sticks of a few Pierrots",¹⁵ and in 1860 a band from years past was referred to as "A man-o-war's men."¹⁶ In a later period there developed great competition between the various "Artillery" and "Brigade" bands whose costumes were derived from actual military uniforms of the local militia. These bands were classed with the "fancy" bands described above, and are the ancestors of the contemporary "pretty" military masques such as the French Foreign Legion or the Canadian Mounties. They were led by a *shâtweî*¹⁷ who sang calypsoes in patois and English to the accompaniment of string music played by a few members of the band. These bands not only competed in the beauty and lavishness of their costumes, but also insulted each other thus, "Oh Charge upon them, Artillery!" to which White Rose would answer "Artillery, if you charge another one, I going to make you surrender!" Artillery Band was famous for pushing a big wooden cannon through the streets. This tradition is represented even earlier by the "canoe on wheels" which caused such an obstruction in the 1859 carnival that its occupants were arrested,¹⁸ and by the tanks, jeeps, elephants, and other large structures of the contemporary Carnival.

Bad Behaviour Sailors and Sailors Ashore

In the modern Carnival the most popular masque is that of sailors. Its freedom of action, lightness of clothing, and relative inexpensiveness appeal in particular to young people, who sometimes form bands of up to 800 people. The most popular subtype of sailor band is a takeoff on the "bad behaviour" of sailors and merchant seamen ashore in Port-of-Spain. These bands, nearly always all male, dress in the traditional white uniforms with tight-fitting "jumpers" with wide collars and neckerchiefs, and trousers with exaggerated bell bottoms. The traditional white sailor hats are worn either very far forward

¹³See below, Andrew Carr, "Pierrot Grenade", p. 281.

¹⁴Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁵*Trinidad Sentinel*, March 10, 1859, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, February 2, 1860, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁷The derivation of this term is obscure, though its root seems to be French *chanter*, "to sing". French *chanterelle*, the commonest alleged source, has many meanings, none of which seem to fit entirely: highest string (of a stringed instrument), decoy, stool-pigeon, tuning fork, bird-call, malformed carpenter's-square. The idiom *appuyer sur la chanterelle* (to lay stress on a point) is almost as farfetched.

¹⁸*Trinidad Sentinel*, March 10, 1859, p. 3, col. 3.

over the eyes, or on the far back of the head. In the 1955 Carnival one hat was observed that had been stencilled "Koslosky, E." by a masquer in parody both of the U.S. Naval custom of inverting the initial and of "foreign" American names. Or it may have been that this hat was one of the many "t'iefed" by masquers from unwary U.S. sailors from the Operating Base during the weeks before Carnival.

The bad behaviour sailor usually smokes a pipe, either an oversized calabash, a briar carved into an animal's head, or a corncob. He may also carry a small fan, huge cardboard dice, a cocoa pod, bits of feminine lingerie, and almost any other souvenir that might take a drunken sailor's fancy. Before the police intervened, sailors had large enamel chamber pots fastened to their wrists to be used as drinking utensils, and carried bladders with which to beat onlookers and each other. They also threw flour or face powder on other masquers until this was made illegal because of the danger to eyesight. Traditionally the bad behaviour sailor gets very drunk during Carnival, or apes drunkenness, and gets his uniform very very dirty. During the rains of the 1955 Carnival season a new high was reached in this particular aspect. Some "sailors" were seen fully clothed and attempting to play cricket in the "East Dry River" ("neither east, dry, nor a river"), a flooded culvert that doubles as a sewage drain during rainstorms. Other "sailors" decorated their uniforms with suggestive smudges on the back of the trousers, or with lips or other organs drawn in lipstick in suitable places on the uniforms.

Bad behaviour sailors traditionally walk on their heels, with their hands held in front, fingers spread, and with a rolling gait. When walking alone they mimic drunkards, lurching diagonally right and left and dragging their feet. Variations of staggering are added to this basic form, plus pirouetting and occasional short dance steps or somersaults or other tumbling. A few sailors together may try more elaborate tumbling, balancing acts, and every kind of hijinks with the spectators, particularly leering at young girls, and making "fatigues," witty conversational asides. En masse the bad behaviour sailors walk six or eight abreast with arms around each others' shoulders. The line thus formed moves three or four steps diagonally right, then three or four steps diagonally left, giving a convincing performance of drunken sailors which is locally termed "rocking the ship". Alternate lines move in opposite directions, so that in the usual sailor band of from 200 to 800, the street becomes a mass of relatively-patterned movement. The effect is sometimes heightened by the singing or whistling of such Navy songs as "Anchors Aweigh" to the accompaniment of a steel band.

A subtype of the bad behaviour sailor is the flourbag sailor, whose costume is made from flour sacks stamped with the red-and-blue checkered design and lettering of the flour mill. The uniform is made the same way as usual, and the gestures and dance are the same as above, but the masque is both less expensive and more colourful than the more authentic "whites". One masquer described flourbag sailor as "sailor old masque". Particularly vile-acting sailors call themselves "bassa bassa sailors", which is synonymous with "bad John". The idiom also occurs in the popular Carnival phrase, "Last lap we go make bassa bassa".

SeaBees and Ships Company

It is difficult to draw a clear line between the bad behaviour sailors and the SeaBees and Ships' Companies. CB is the abbreviation for the U.S. Navy Construction Battalion, engineering forces who build bridges, roads, and other installations in forward areas, often under fire. They wear Navy work clothes, blue denim shirts and trousers, and white sailor hats, and their clothes are often stencilled with laundry marks in black ink or white ink-eraser which fades the blue cloth. The SeaBee masque imitates this in detail, and adopts the dance and gestures of the bad behaviour sailors, though to a lesser degree. Sometimes mock telecommunications equipment such as field radios and telephones are carried by the CB's. When women play this masque they wear tight-fitting white T-shirts (locally called "merinos") stencilled with the the name of the masque band or the steel band with which they are playing. Over this they wear a blue denim shirt which is left unbuttoned and not tucked into the trousers. The unlikely presence of women with CB's is explained as either Waves or wives. Insignia is not usually worn on the work uniforms of CB's in real life, but in the masque "officers" can be seen sporting gold shoulderboards and collar insignia on their denim shirts.

Insignia is the outstanding characteristic of the Ship's Company masques. They purport to be the full complement of a particular Naval Vessel, real or imaginary, such as the U.S.S. Chicago or the U.S.S. Skipjack. The entire possible range of ship's personnel is represented, including such rare ranks as Chief Warrant Pharmacist and Jewish Chaplain, the latter a tall Negro boy wearing a well-tailored blue serge uniform with Ten Commandments and Star of David on the sleeves, and carrying a Jewish Bible in one hand and a half-empty rum bottle in the other. Understandably there is a preponderance of high-ranking officers, white-gloved "Admirals of the Fleet" who pass out printed calling cards to spectators, Rear and Vice Admirals, Commodores and Captains. Their uniforms are the realization of the suppressed desires of anyone who has ever been in uniform, a forest of gold buttons, swords, fringed epaulets, aiguillettes ("chicken guts") of gold braid festooning the uniform and hanging below the knee like a saga boy's key chain, and embroidered "scrambled egg" cap peaks. The insignia is often perfectly rendered in both scale and detail, such things as wings for fliers, dolphins for submariners, eagles and shields used on officers' hats all created by squeezing putty through a pastry-chef's canvas tube to make the proper bas-relief design, which is then carefully painted and gilded. Rows of campaign ribbons ("fruit salad") are fabricated from grosgrain or pieces of brightly coloured tartan, and decorated with stars, oak-leaf clusters, medals cut from metal or made of putty. Occasionally real Victory medals are worn. Women in Ship's Company bands play Navy Nurses, Waves, telephone operators and even seamen. One rate, the SP or Shore Patrol has the special Carnival designation of "piquette", adopted from "picket", British Naval slang, intensified by the SP's use of a stave or "piquette" as a club. Piquettes enforce a semblance of order, attempt to keep ranks, and round up bandsmen from adjoining rumshops when the band is ready to go "down the road".

Fancy or King Sailors and Stokers

The Fancy Sailor or King Sailor bands evidently first came out about 1946. Before that time sailors wore masks made from undershirts or stockings stretched over their heads, and with holes cut for eyes and mouth. With this they wore false noses of cardboard or papier mâché, and "shades" or dark glasses or goggles. Each year this nose grew larger, developed warts, was attacked by realistic but giant insects, and otherwise expanded. Finally whole headpieces were made in papier mâché and the original white uniforms were covered in gold braid, red or blue ricrac braid, sequins or coloured rhinestones diagonal sashes, imaginary and fantastic insignia, and a multitude of Army armpatches or authentic Navy enlisted insignia sewn anywhere on the uniform. A particularly interesting decorative device was the use of small cartoons or paintings of insects or animals fighting. These cartoons usually carried out the theme of the headpieces, which often had no relationship to sailors or their activities. In 1953 a band came out with huge headpieces of papier mâché over bent wire in the forms of monster crabs, with great attention to detail of colour and form. Others came out with headpieces representing gun turrets with moving guns, telecommunication equipment with lights blinking on and off, cash registers with drawers that opened, every variety of clock, and other intricate mechanical models. Still others have represented a myriad of variations with the cobra as subject, or the Spider and the Fly with huge wire webs and the Castle of the Spider conceived as a *tadjah* or temple of the Muslim Hossé Festival. One of the most brilliant bands in recent Carnivals represented the Signs of the Zodiac with life-sized papier mâché figures worn as headpieces. One of these, the Scorpion, was 10 feet long, and the masquer carried a live scorpion in a bottle to show its authenticity of detail.

Fancy Sailors have developed a characteristic dance, possibly derived from the local dance step called "mariko" (Spanish *maricon*). The King sticks out his abdomen and buttocks, and with his legs describes loose circles, meanwhile hunching his shoulders and moving his head forward and backward. He moves forward in little hops, sometimes landing on the inside edges of his feet. With his hands he pantomimes every kind of activity, flying a kite, grating cassava, driving a car, skiing, making love. As many as 26 variations of these gestures have been observed. This dance, while difficult to describe, seems when seen in the streets to be the quintessence of the angular and raffish gestures of sailors. With the growth of the headpieces and the greater crowds in the streets in recent years, this dance has tended to die out.

The King Sailor bands were traditionally preceded by a row of trumpeters dressed in regular or decorated sailor uniforms. They were followed by the "firemen" or stokers, another pre-War masque that developed parallel to King Sailor. The firemen wore "sleeveless merino" undershirts with paintings on front and back, blue denim trousers, thick white gloves, white sailor hats, and large goggles over their eyes. These goggles sometimes had moving "eyes" of cut paper built into them so that they seemed to roll as the firemen danced. They also carried long rods of iron, bent slightly at the tip to keep them from sticking in crevices in the pavement as they were pushed along the streets in front of the firemen. Some of these rods were actually part of a stoker's equipment aboard ship. The firemen also had a characteristic dance

similar to the "limbo", with the body bent sharply backward, knees projecting, and lower legs almost on the pavement. In this position the firemen pushed their rods forward in mimicry of stoking a boiler, with a great deal of shoulder-shaking and arm movement as they crept forward through the streets. This dance is virtually impossible to do in the crowded streets of today's Carnival. The moment of the King Sailor seems to have passed, since only one band came out in 1955, though the basic structure is still capable of infinite development.

Military Masques

The Ships' Companies are paralleled by full complements of Army, Marine, and Air Corps personnel, either in dress uniform or in "battle dress" or in a combination of the two. The same meticulous details, putty insignia, authentic medals and armpatches, transfusion jars full of "blood," and expensive materials are used. The fine serges, garberdines and other uniform cloth justify their great expense because at least parts of the uniforms can be worn later as trousers, skirts, and with some changes, jackets. This explains the frequency of olive drab, Navy blue, and dark green in the wardrobes of Trinidadians. These masques also provide the military caps that are worn throughout the year by many people, particularly fishermen and gas station attendants. Sometimes specific crews such as Visiting Jet Pilots are reproduced, with such special uniforms as leather jackets with fur trim and gilt name and rank, and earphones, walkie-talkies, and other equipment are carried. The battle dress military bands wear "fatigues" of Marine green or khaki, or camouflage material with its flecks of dull greens and browns, metal helmets (made of papier mâché), carry rifles, binoculars or machine guns, or push ack-ack guns, bazookas, lifesized tanks with two living occupants, jeeps, and other field equipment through the streets. Sometimes they also carry uprooted bushes and small trees, the traditional West Indian symbol for a fete or a riot, and also a common device of armies in open country. Military bands sometimes put on elaborate drilling exhibitions of the "cadence count" variety. Drilling practice in the steep, narrow, twisted lanes of Clifton Hill is one of the sights of the pre-carnival season.

In recent years American forces have been most frequently imitated because of their impact on the community during the war. British, French, Venezuelan, German, Korean and imaginary uniforms have also been seen. Casablanca steel band (named from the movie) "always play a French masque from its name," and came out in 1954 as French Foreign Legion, and in 1955 as Free French Sailors complete with striped jerseys, pompomed hats, and a leader swinging a Tricolor (with colors reversed) marked with the Cross of Lorraine. Some special military groups with elaborate uniforms are termed "pretty" military masques. Examples include the British Palace Guard in bearskin hats, Scots with kilts, sporrans, a mock bagpipe, and a steel band playing Scottish tunes,¹⁹ Texas Rangers who played with an Indian band, Union and Confederates, and even the Nazi High Command (from the film

¹⁹Cf. "... one Highlander, a most ludicrous caricature of a Gael," in the 1847 carnival described by C. W. Day, Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

"Five Graves to Cairo") with polished boots, iron crosses, monocles, goose stepping, and the slapping of cavalry whips and white gloves. The rich humor of Carnival can be appreciated when one realizes that sailor and military bands wear no face masks, and Trinidad's racial *potpourri* appears as Confederates, Scots, or Nazis.

INDIANS AND OTHER WARRIORS

Wild Indians, Red, Blue and Black

The most popular bands after sailors are Indians, who in the variety and fantasy of their costumes set the tone of carnival. The most archaic form of Indians is usually termed Wild Indians, or as Red, Blue or Black Indians, referring to color of costume rather than of skin. Red Indians are supposed to have come over from Venezuela, from a village or area called "Lokain" which is probably *Los Caños* (Spanish for "drains" or "tributaries"), the swamps of the Orinoco Delta. Actually aboriginal Indians of the Guarao, Guarajo, or "Warrahoon" tribe from this area brought beads, parrots, hammocks, and other products to Trinidad to barter until the 1920's when they were prohibited. There are settlements of mixed-bloods who claim Warahoon ancestry throughout Trinidad, particularly south of Siparia. The carnival Red Indian band in recent years is led by two Grenadian Negroes with a following of young Trinidadians of every shade including East Indian. The masque seems to be popular in Grenada and among the people of Grenadian origin in the Moruga area of southern Trinidad, where the Indians are known as "Daymonduru".

Red Indians traditionally wear a short red satin skirt, a merino dyed red and decorated with painting, feathers, or sequins, and on the head a long, tangled wig of frayed-out hemp rope, a high crown of wire covered with red paper, ribbon, and artificial roses, or a warbonnet made from large chicken feathers dyed and painted, or a wire and paper effigy of a fish, a bird, or even an airplane.²⁰ Sometimes the merino is replaced by long underwear dyed red, and the feet are always left bare. The face is painted or dusted with ruku (*Bixa orellana*), and long strands of beads are made from Jumby beads, cashew nuts, or "Job's Tears" (*Coix lachryma-jobi*). Thus attired, the Indians dance single file through the streets, forming a serpentine, while bringing their knees up high at every step and bending their upper bodies forward and then upright in time to their handclapping. They shout "like Tarzan" occasionally, or make a yodeling sound by stopping their mouths with their hands while emitting a piercing shriek. They also sing traditional songs of a very attractive melodious nature, the words of which are in "Red Indian language".

Extensive texts of red and black Indian languages have been collected, but as yet no linguist in control of Spanish, Creole patois, English, and South American Indian languages has been found to analyze them. When a member of one band meets a member of another, he challenges him with the word "Maté!" which means "Stop!" during carnival, but which is thought to derive from the Spanish *matar*, "to kill". One Indian addresses another as

²⁰Cf. the Pajaro masque, see below, p. 215.

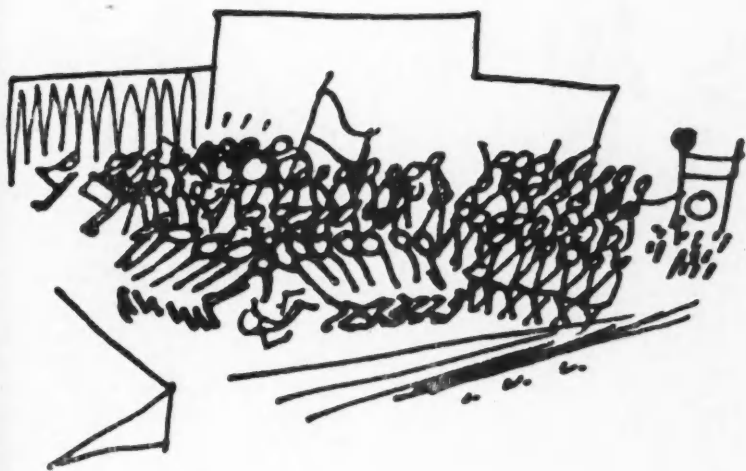
"Masa Waria" which may be disguised English for master Warrior. One of the most popular song texts begins "Indurubi" which may be Spanish "Indo rubi" meaning Red Indian. There are many other recognizable phrases, though without memorizing the challenges and responses word for word they cannot be understood. Actual classes in "Red Indian language" are held before carnival, especially in the past when an Indian who could not speak the language fluently, answer all the questions asked him by his challenger, and brag as ornately about his warrior prowess, was in danger of being badly beaten by the clubs and staves of his challenger and followers.

There are several skits that also are performed by Red Indians. In their yard on the Sunday night before carnival, or sometimes on the preceding Sunday, the Red Indian Queen Elo-een-ah (last year played by a girl of 12) is crowned amid great pageantry, the singing of coronation songs, a procession to the throne, and wild dancing, with one or more Indians "eating fire," expelling kerosene (locally "pitch oil") from their mouths, meanwhile lighting the spray with a match. The resulting minor explosion gives a realistic illusion of fire-eating, especially in a dark tent or street. A second skit concerns the theft of the three little boys Moko, Choko, and Toko, the sons of the King, by a devil called Booboorah who sneaks around dressed in old cocoa bags and with a hood over his face. When he invades the tent and runs into the dancing line, the boy who he is to "t'ief" clasps his arms around Booboorah's neck to make it easier for Booboorah to carry him. There is much screaming and mock-praying and yodeling during this show, and in the long run the King beats Booboorah with his wooden sword and rescues his sons. In another skit known in Arima, when the King is challenged, his challenger claims the King's son as hostage, after which the Queen performs a long lament for her son, and a spirited plea for his release, all in deadserious Wild Indian language. Perhaps the most amusing skit of all occurs when a spectator throws a coin and hits a Red Indian. Since he is from the bush and doesn't know what money is, he falls down as if mortally wounded. His fellow tribesmen gather around him and decide to "make juju" (work obeah or magic) to revive him. They dance around him, beating him with their chapulets of beads and chanting what sounds like a Catholic litany of Saints sung in Spanish, "Hésté Brusté Santa Maria, San Antonio" They then "make juju" by slowly lowering their bodies to a squatting position while shifting their pelvises rapidly upwards and downwards and grunting loudly, then repeating the process as they rise up to a standing position. This cures the fallen warrior, who rises up and dances off with them in the serpentine.

Black Indians are thought of as African rather than Venezuelan, and their speech is said to contain African words. In this case Indian is synonymous with "wild man" or "savage". They wear long trousers and shirts of black satin decorated with turkey feathers and silver and gold beads. They wear long black wigs made from frayed hemp rope, gilded turkey feather war bonnets, and gold nose-rings and earrings, and they blacken their faces with lamp-black. They carry lances, spears, tomahawks, bows-and-arrows, and drums, and eat fire. The band is arranged as hierarchically as the military bands, having a King, a Queen, a "Flying Argentine" (adjutant?),



JOUR OUVERT—OLE MAS'



THE SPIRIT OF CARNIVAL—JOUR OUVERT



FANCY INDIAN CHIEF



FANCY INDIAN



MOKO JUMBIE



WILD INDIAN—forerunner of Fancy Indian
circa 1930



EAST INDIAN BURROQUITE



SAILORS—of Bad Behaviour type



BABY DOLLS



ROBBERS



JAB MOLASSIE



THE SPIRIT OF CARNIVAL



JAB JAB



BLACK INDIAN
WARRIOR



BATS



MAD BULL



FANCY CLOWN



FANCY SAILOR



MALE MEMBER—
COW BAND



FEMALE MEMBER—
COW BAND



HALF-BREED APACHE SCOUT
Showing the influence of the
American Cinema

a Prince and Princess, hunters, warriors, and other ranks. Some of the names of the bands are imaginative, such as "Heroes of the Dark Continent", or "Ibo Sun God Wild Indians". Black Indian is a favourite masque with Negroes, and several leading masquers are prominent members of the Ethiopian Coptic Church or other racially-constituted organizations.

Blue Indians, like the other varieties of Wild Indians only appear in one or two bands of seven to twenty members each carnival. They too have a distinct language which however sounds much like Red Indian to the uninitiated. Blue Indians wear blue costumes, large wire and feather war bonnets, and in some cases ride horses or donkeys. They too have strange names, "The Blue Cannibals of the Orinoco", or "Alladin and his Blue Toltec Warriors".

Canadian White Indians wear white clothes, sometimes white leather cut into fringes and ornamented with embroidery and bead-work. They are usually large bands, speak very little if any "language", carry life sized totem poles, and in structure can be classed with warrior bands.

Fancy Indians

The most spectacular single costumes of carnival are the Fancy Indians, the delight of tourist photographers. They originated from the Wild Indians and still speak Red Indian on occasion. But in a desire to "improve" their masque, each year the headpieces grew larger and more elaborate. Originally the feather war bonnet was worn around the brows with the feathers sticking upright. Then the two long tails of feathers were added down the back. Then the headpiece grew taller, built over a structure of bamboo and roseau wood held together with twine. Later this structure was made of heavy wire like that used for clothes hangers. Wire is lighter, finer, and capable of being bent more intricately, and wire-bending has become one of the most highly developed of the carnival crafts. In recent years since the war the headpieces grew so large that a puff of wind could knock down the masquer and "mosh up" his hat, and he ran into overhead wires and the lighting arrangements on the competition stages. To counter this, the headpieces grew panels which run down both sides of the masquer's body, while another support is built behind, thus creating a tripod to support the headpiece. Since his hat can now stand alone, the masquer can come out from under it to rest for a few moments before taking up his huge burden again. The development of this base allowed for even larger areas of decoration. A modern Fancy Indian headpiece is usually from 10 to 15 ft. high, its basic form being a slightly convex disc around the masquer's face, the disc supported by a conical base covering the masquer's body.

This disc is covered with a rich pattern of bead network, velvet-covered wire structures, mirrors cut in geometric shapes, baskets of real snakes, and areas of carefully glued featherwork in dyed or graded natural colours. Its outer edge is traditionally surmounted by tall, brightly-coloured and very expensive ostrich plumes. The concave back of the headpiece is similarly decorated, and the conical base is often conceived as a wigwam, covered with beads, panels of woven satin ribbons, painted hollow reeds made from cane arrows (the stalk of the sugar cane flower), featherwork, and papier mâché masks, bas-reliefs, totem poles, canoes, peacocks, altars, calendar stones,

and in one case a life sized human figure of a god seated at the top of a flight of steps. These headpieces represent an investment of from \$300 to \$1,000, and steady work for 5 or 6 people from 3 to 6 months. In many cases the papier mâché work and wire bending is commissioned to be done by semi-professionals, but in other cases the masquers do it all themselves. Because of the size of the headpieces it is necessary to rent a room in which to work, or to remove the furniture from the home in order to have space in which to suspend the structure while covering it. Fancy Indians, like the artists they are, always wear beautifully decorated costumes under their headpieces, even though these are seen only a few minutes when they are taking a rest outside their headpiece. Some carry magnificently carved pipes, wooden "human heads" or "scalps" dripping with painted gore, or fiendishly imaginative weapons. Fancy Indians have individual names such as One Bull, Guiasuita, Crazy Horse, or Bittalaseru. A band usually consists of only a few people, a chief, his squaw, and their child, or three chiefs and four or five less bedizened warriors. In competitions some Fancy Indians appear as individuals though they nearly always are in company in the streets because of their frequent need for help in handling their great loads. In recent times Fancy Indians have combined with large warrior bands so as to have a more appropriate retinue.

Indian Warriors

Indian Warrior Bands are usually large bands of several hundred young people who wear similar costumes of warriors and squaws. These costumes are based on comic books, National Geographic or other magazine illustrations, and particularly on cowboy-and-Indian movies such as "Broken Arrow", "The Savage", "Fort Ti", "Pony Soldier", "Seminole", and "Taza, Son of Cochise". The motion picture companies send publicity photographs on request, and these are copied in detail, though often elaborated and enriched to suit the carnival spirit. Seminoles, Sioux, Apaches, and Hopi are represented in recognizable ways, though their trousers are often made of purple velvet rather than deerskin. They wear soft leather mocassins decorated with beadwork and rhinestones, beaded pectorals, sometimes brown-dyed merinos covered with beading, decorated breech clout panels in front and back, and headpieces varying from a fillet with a single feather to towering Fancy Indian structures. Most of the headpieces in this type of band are relatively small, and allow for a maximum of jumping, shouting, horseplay with tomahawks, and dancing, which is the major carnival activity. Warriors are often "bareback" with painted bodies and faces, while squaws wear skirts and sleeveless blouses, sometimes with short bolero jackets. This masque allows the minimum expense (as low as \$20 including music and refreshments), maximum comfort and ease in movement, while at the same time it is a "pretty" masque of bright colours, rich fabrics and jewels. The large headpieces are worn by as few as three or as many as thirty members of the band, who play Kings, Queens, Chiefs, Medicine Men, Ambassadors from other tribes, and other dignitaries, and their costumes may cost as much as \$300 each.

There is one subtype of Indian Warrior, the historical. In the last few years bands have come out playing Aztecs (from the movie "Captain from Castile")²¹ as well as Mayan, Incas, and other ancient New World cultures. These bands have been led by some of carnival's greatest artists and are of unparalleled magnificence and authenticity of detail. Quetzal feathers are fabricated, papier mâché stellae reproduced, and the resulting headpieces are works the Aztecs might well be proud to claim.

Other Warriors

Occasionally bands of non-Indian warriors come out. In recent years there have been large bands of Africans, the Bakuba (from the movie "White Witch Doctor"), and the Watussi (from the movie "King Solomon's Mines"), as well as Yapese (from "His Majesty O'Keefe"), Fijians, Followers of the Invisible Goddess, and other real or imaginary non-literate peoples. These bands also follow the pattern of "authenticity-plus", with costumes more beautiful than the originals but still authentic in detail. The Watussi front lines were required to be Negroes and over 6 feet tall. They appeared with short white satin skirts with large patches of red, blue, and green velvet, bare chests, and long flowing lion mane headpieces fabricated from hemp. They danced in the leaping manner of the great Watussi dancer in the film, tossing their long manes back and forth. The Bakuba had elaborate beaded headpieces with real cowrie shells, skirts of goatskin, doghide, and cat and rabbit fur, and beautiful necklaces of gilded cobo skulls, dog skulls, cow teeth, and assorted bones and vertebrae, thus continuing the tradition of the horse vertebrae mentioned by Day in 1847.²² One medicine man rode in a hut with several live cobos,* a snake, a dog, and hundreds of bones and skulls.

Juju Warriors, using a local term for African witchcraft or obeah are a more traditional masque, wearing "skinfitt" costumes of black-dyed underwear, skirts of frayed "bag" similar to the pants of a Midnight Robber,²³ or grass skirts of frayed hemp rope, wigs of the same material, small hats with three feathers, faces powdered with coal dust and striped in red and white paint, and carrying wooden spears, swords, shields, and hatchets, and an occasional live snake or small alligator. They frighten bystanders into giving them money. In past years a Juju Band was led by Olumbo Jumby, said to have been introduced directly from Africa. The Jumby was a man completely covered by a conical wire structure of black-dyed bag or black satin. At the tip of the cone was the head of a kangaroo (the informant may have meant a giraffe) executed in papier mâché or paper-covered wire and painted silver, with a red tongue and ears, white teeth, and glass eyes. The masquer saw through a papier mâché mask on the Jumby's "chest" and his hands extended through the cone. He wore silver-painted canvas gloves and sandals with upturned toes, and carried a small broom called a "kokoyé" or a "chéchéhé". Like the Black Indians, Olumbo Jumby spoke "African".

²¹Also *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, No. 6, June, 1937.

²²See above, Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

²³See below, Daniel J. Crowley, "The Midnight Robbers", p. 263.

*Corbeaux; carrion crows.—Ed.

Devils :

Jab Molasi

There are several quite different varieties of devils in the carnival. They are nearly always called "jabs", the patois word derived from French *diable*. The Jab Molasi or molasses devil or "devil old masque" wears short pants of bag or a worn-out pair of trousers with the legs cut off short. From the back of the trousers extends a wire tail, often with a brush of hemp at its end. He may wear chains, a wooden lock and two keys around his waist, and he carries a pitchfork. He may wear horns or a wreath of weeds or a battered felt hat on his head, and his whole body, face, ears, and hair are smeared with stale molasses, tar, grease, creosote, or mud.²⁴ He is followed by one or more little boys carrying cooking pots or biscuit tins on which they beat a fast tattoo with bolts as drumsticks. In one case another boy carried a bucket of extra grease or mud with which to replenish the "costume". The Jab Molasi dances a fast version of "winin" through the streets, threatening to touch the beautiful costumes of other masquers or the clean clothes of bystanders unless they give him money, which he accepts in a burlap bag or a miniature coffin with a slot in the top. In recent years "The Unburied Dead" or "The Original Adam" covered in yellowish mud and strung with eight still-living krapo (*bufo marinus*) has done good business up and down Frederick Street or anywhere he appears.

Another form of Jab is the Jumbalasi, derived from the same source, but now a simple masque of swimming trunks or shorts, a wire tail, a sweater or merino with sleeves, and a hood with stuffed cloth horns. There are also bands of red, green, or blue devils dressed like the Imps of a Dragon Band²⁵ with short kandal, tails, and pitchforks, but with their bodies covered in ruku or green or blue powder.

Jab-Jabs

A "pretty" devil band is called Jab-Jabs or Coolie Devils, because of the supposed preference of East Indians for this masque. They wear the most ancient costume still extant in carnival, the kandal or satin knickers, the satin shirt with points of cloth around the waist from which are suspended "willows" or bells, the fòl or heart-shaped cloth panel on the chest, stockings and alpagats, all of which were part of the nèg jadè, batonyé, and Pierrot²⁶ costumes of 100 years ago, or the jester's costume of medieval Europe. On their heads they wear a hood with stuffed cloth horns, and often their costumes are motley, divided down the centre front and back with colours alternating in the manner of British football jerseys. The costume is decorated with mirrors, swansdown and rhinestones, especially the fòl, and the Jab-Jabs crack whips now made of plaited hemp rope, but originally leather carriage whips which were used to cut up the costumes of competing Jab-Jab bands. Only two bands have come out in recent years, and neither

²⁴Cf. Day's description of a masquer covered in "black varnish" and wearing chains and locks in the 1847 carnival, Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁵See below, Bruce Procope, "The Dragon Band or Devil Band," p. 275.

²⁶See above, p. 194, and Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

"play masque to get licks," but threaten bystanders and collect pennies as they run through the streets chanting "Me Jab-Jab, I now come from Hell, I know you well, pay the Devil, Jab-Jab!" or their "shout", "Plata gumbo gee gumbo, Coming down the road!"

East Indian Burroquite

As a result of parallel development, two originally unrelated masques are both called burroquite, from the Spanish for "little donkey". The Venezuelan type will be discussed below. The East Indian type seems to derive from the worship of the Hindu mother-goddess Durga or Basuli in the form of a horse, her emblem in the Sastric literature. In the Chaitra area of Orissa "A well-decorated horse's head is attached to a truck built of bamboos. A man enters through the hole kept for this purpose behind its neck. He looks from a distance as if he has ridden on horseback. He holds the reins of the horse and dances. The horse moves forward and backward with the man." The dancing is accompanied by a drum and a flute, and songs are improvised combining high-sounding words and Sanskrit verses²⁷.

The Trinidad carnival masque reproduces this completely, except for the flute and the Sanskrit. The King or leading dancer carries a wooden sword, and he and his four or five Princes wear satin costumes decorated with swansdown and rhinestones, metallic paper crowns, and have their faces whitened with powder. Another man dressed as a Queen in a sari collects money in a *taria* or brass ritual plate. The horse or donkey's body is covered in a long skirt of rich materials, and the head is made of wire covered with paper and painted. Sometimes a small boy in costume dances beside the donkey and attempts to curry it. The traditional Hindi song in Trinidad goes:

Raja, Raja Hindako

Dhal bhat, dhal bhat Hindako

Soooo Mary, soooo Danka (or soooo Girl)

King, King of India

Peas-and-rice of India

(boy calms horse
named Mary?)

Sometimes this masque is called "Sumari" from this last line, which is also interpreted as meaning "so merry" or referring to St. Mary's Junction near Carapichaima where this masque is still popular. A burroquite masque of British guardsmen was brought out by a group in the Trinidad Country Club in 1953, but the masque is virtually extinct in the streets.

Spanish Burroquite and Pajaro

Trinidad shares with the Spanish Main the masque called in Spanish *burraquita*, "little donkey or jenny". The burroquite is a construction of bamboo which fits on the dancer's hips and gives the illusion that he is riding a small burro. At the front is a donkey's head made of coloured paper over a wooden framework, while the body is covered with a satin skirt like a caparisoned donkey, and there is a hemp tail at the rear. Sometimes four hoops dangle from this skirt. The man himself wears a satin shirt, sometimes a short velvet jacket, and either a large straw hat or a matador's hat. He

²⁷Kunjabehari Das, *A Study of Orissan Folk-Lore*. (Santiniketan: Visvabharati, 1953), p. 56.

dances in a way to make the donkey seem to caper and bow, and he is followed by musicians and other masquers on foot who wear dark trousers, sashes around the waist, "pretty" shirts, and big straw hats "like Spanish vagabonds." They play guitars, quattros and shac-shacs, and collect money while they sing "Andar, andar, andar, burroquite, andar . . ." or

Ai si, ai no
la pita que tengo yo
por el sereno de la noche
la pita se me quito

The hiccoughs (or whooping cough)
which I have
Due to the serenity of the night
The hiccoughs left me

Or :

Ai si, ai no
Mariquita me regaló
un canario que cantaba
los versos del mismo dios

Mariquita gave me
a canary that sang
the verses of God Himself

The burroquites are extinct in town, but are still to be seen in Spanish communities such as Arima.

Another Venezuelan-derived masque is Pajaro or bird. This is a large effigy of a bird made of bamboo and covered in coloured paper. It fits over the upper half of the masquer's body, and he sees through a hole in the "chest". He wears long satin knickers and sometimes leggings, and is followed by musicians much the same as the burraquite. This masque is unknown in Port-of-Spain in recent years, though some Indian headpieces approximate it.

Sebucan or Maypole

Still another masque of Latin-American origin is called Sebucan, the Amerindian word for the cassava squeezer, a long tube of plaited fiber which the maypole resembles at the height of the dance. This masque is known in St. Lucia and Barbados as "plait-the-ribbon", and in those islands it may derive from England rather than Spain. In the Trinidad carnival it is a popular masque with families or groups of children or adults in Spanish communities. Like nearly every other masque it is competitive, with prizes going to the best dance troupe. Each dancer holds a coloured ribbon the other end of which is fastened to the top of a tall pole held in the centre of the dancers. Alternate dancers move in opposite directions around the pole, first inward, then outward, so that their multicoloured ribbons form a pattern down the length of the pole. When they draw near the end of their ribbons they reverse and unplait the ribbons until the dance is ended.

Costumes are simple, the girls wearing full short skirts, blouses trimmed in swansdown, washikongs or alpagats, and decorated metallic paper crowns. The boys wear similar costumes with short trousers and long stockings of a contrasting colour. Sometimes ordinary party clothing is worn. Music is similar or identical with that for burroquite, guitars, quattros, and shac-shac. In recent years few Sebucan bands have appeared in town, but they usually dance in "Tamarind Square" between the Cathedral and Columbus Square.

Yankee Minstrels and Tennessee Cowboys

Yankee Minstrels seem to derive from the minstrel shows that were popular in the United States at the turn of the century, and were probably introduced

into Trinidad by travelling troupes or by Trinidadians returning from the States. The original minstrels were Negroes, but many of the most popular were whites who wore "blackface" and followed a set of conventions in representing Negroes. The Trinidadian masquer, though nearly always a Negro himself, imitates these conventions including the "blackface", exaggerated white "lips" painted around his mouth, red spots on cheeks, and the "Uncle Sam" costume of scissor-tailed coat, tight striped trousers, white gloves, and tall beaver hat. He is thus a Negro imitating a white imitating a Negro. In more recent times the costume has been varied, one band of four minstrels appearing in suits, two black and two white, split down the middle and recombined so that each suit is half black and half white. The effect is completed by the hats, faces, and shoes being black on one side and white on the other. A vaudeville routine of dance steps displayed this black-and-white effect. Other costumes also derive from vaudeville, with striped blazers and straw boaters of the '90's.

Yankee Minstrels nearly always consist of four male singers, sometimes with a female singer as well, and most bands have played together for as long as 20 years. One or two members play guitars and another plays the "bones", a clicking instrument derived from the original U.S. minstrels. Each year the band makes up a few new songs, and learn a few suitable popular tunes such as "Chi Bum". An example of an original song is :

We are the Minstrel Boys from Texas
 You can bet we have the caress,
 You know we bound to shine
 Especially when we have got the taste of Minstrel Boys
 Your cheeks are so rosy, and your lips are blooming,
 Just like the flowers in May.
 You will be happy, Confidentially
 Just stand besides me
 Wait Darling, and you will see.

A variant of the Yankee Minstrel is the Tennessee Cowboy, who dresses in a loud plaid shirt, neckerchief, khaki trousers, and big-brimmed straw hat, and carries a toy gun. This band is also small in number, and sings cowboy and hillbilly songs such as "Home on the Range", and "Cheating Heart" imported from the States via the radio. A "Tennessee vocalist" band won popular acclaim as early as 1906²². The nomenclature of Minstrels is well within the carnival spirit. To Trinidadians the term "Yankee" means any American, though in the United States it is properly applied only to white New Englander of Anglo-Saxon origin whose family was in residence at the time of the American Revolution. It was also used by the Confederates to describe the Union soldiers during the Civil War. Thus to call a Texan a Yankee is tantamount to calling a Scot an Englishman, a Jew a Nazi, or a Trinidadian a Barbadian. Also there are no cowboys within a thousand miles of Tennessee, a mountainous hillbilly state of small farms.

²²*Port-of-Spain Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1906, p. 7, cols. 2-4.

Clowns and Bats

In the early years of this century circus clowns appeared in carnival wearing conical hats, papier mâché face masks with exaggerated noses and red-spotted cheeks and long loose costumes with ruffles at neck, wrists and ankles. They wore swansdown pompoms, bells, threw confetti and powder, and carried trapezes and "make a varé business" (French: varié, "variation") doing acrobatics and dancing. At the time of the upsurge of carnival after the first World War, "fancy" clowns began to come out, elaborating and "improving" the masque beyond recognition. Each band consisted of about twenty men and occasionally a few women called "Patronesses", as well as a small string band. Each band had a particular name and a basic colour scheme used from year to year :

 Mavis (from facepowder tradename)—gold and black
 Mystery—royal purple and orange
 Melodious (or Melody) blue and white
 Troublesome Boys—cerise and green
 Honey Boys—pink and white
 Starlight
 Iere Dandies
 Parisian Dandies—blue and beige or maroon and gold

As the clown costume was "improved", its dunce cap was replaced by a crown as befitting a King Clown, and this was held in place by a fula of brown-dyed merino cloth. The face masks were elaborated and enlarged and fitted with "elastic work" which provided winking eyes, wiggling noses, lolling tongues, and other moving parts. The collar ruffle became a high standing collar of the type associated with Queen Elizabeth I, and "it growing bigger every year, mon," and is now a wire structure covered by elaborate bead-work. The costume itself still has the baggy "Turkish" trousers, embroidery and honeycombing, but the "eton" or jacket has now become a kind of stage for the display of the theme on front and back. An example is "The Spider and the Fly" with giant insects of silver lamé, purple velvet, and diaphanous wings, ensnared in huge webs that nearly covered the wearer. Other themes are "The Old Woman Who Lived in the Shoes," Arabian Nights," "Woodford Square Fountain," "Doggie in the Window," "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," and "The Throne of Elizabeth II". Clowns' shoes are particularly interesting, being large boxlike forms covering the feet. Sometimes they are papier mâché animals, at other times mechanical affairs that pop open and closed when a step is taken. The size of the shoes makes it impossible for the clown to dance, and he walks with a characteristic slow, rolling gait with his legs wide apart. He is supposed to "give jokes" but in the crush of contemporary carnival this is largely forgotten. He still collects money, however.

Clowns originally played in bands of twenty or more, but the costume and traditional string music are so expensive that bands have disintegrated, and clowns play in small groups of three or four or as individuals without music. Another factor is that the personal expression in clown costumes is so fiercely competitive that it builds up enmities. "Masque is a selfish thing,

oui! Don't mind if you happy, each one fighting for hisself. I playing me one." The leading clowns are often professional artists, signpainters, or makers of papier mâché and wire structures for other masquers. Like the Red Dragon leaders, they are bitterly competitive, secretive, and deadly serious about all carnival activities. Oddly enough they seem to resemble clowns facially even when out of costume. "You could never stop dressing, you dress to a standard, it comprise a real art."

Bats sometimes play with clown bands, sometimes as bat bands, and sometimes as individuals. The typical bat costume is black or brown skinfitt, dyed long underwear, jersey or velveteen. The kandal is short like swimming trunks, and is made of frayed bag, swansdown, or sometimes yarn rug, material. The head mask, usually made by a professional, fits over the entire face and head and is made of swansdown with papier mâché face, teeth, nose barb, and round eyes. The masquer sees through the open mouth or lifts up the mask like a visor to get a breath of air. A pair of shoes are made in leather with metal claws for toes, or regular shoes are covered with long wool socks to which metal claws have been attached, and a second sole is attached to the bottom of the shoe soles to protect the stockings. Wings are fabricated from wire and bamboo to a wingspread of 12 to 15 feet, and are covered with the same cloth as the skinfitt. They are fastened to the costume by hooks-and-eyes, zippers, or sometimes by sewing. In any case the masquer is sewn into his clothes with his arms permanently fastened to the wings. His hands are covered with matching gloves. Sometimes Bats are played in white velveteen, and recently a "fancy bat" appeared in yellow satin and black velvet with fine blue embroidery on his wings, but he was severely criticised "because nobody never see a yellow bat yet," and since there are no competitions for fancy bats, and hence no prizes, he discontinued the masque. Many Bats carry a real stuffed bat on their costumes to show authenticity of detail.

The performance of the Bats is usually called a dance, but it is more properly a mime. "I can do the bat dance very much, like in daylight it could hardly see. I start on one side like I looking to grasp something, then I do the crawl, wings over head. A bat could hardly walk, and nip now and then for sport. When I see another bat I twinkle (he waves his wings) like this. And when I see police horses I do a little display, because you know bats does love to suck animals. I do a flapping towards an animal, and stop and look like I'm looking to suck." One Bat has appeared on roller skates to better represent flying, and others "chip" or dance mincingly on their toes to simulate a bat's walking gait. Just as with the clowns, the Bats seem to resemble their masque even when out of costume.

Historical Bands

The relatively prosperous times in Trinidad since the second World War have encouraged the development of historical masques with their large numbers and expensive costumes. Instead of playing tough, mean, dirty, evil, drunken, or fiendish, the historical masquer plays rich and powerful for two days. He may be King Pharoah, a Viking in a long red wig, a Sultan of Delhi, a medieval English King, a Trojan warrior in metal breastplate and

greaves, Nero complete with lute and train, a Knight of the Garter with authentic heraldic devices, an aristocrat in powdered wig, or any other real or fanciful personage who captures his interest.

The sources of historical masques are only rarely imaginary. Like the Indian Warriors, some are drawn from movies like "Quo Vadis", "Sign of the Pagan", or "Serpent of the Nile". Others, like Red Dragons, come from the Bible, religious texts, calendars, and Bible History schoolbooks. Still others are from the standard primers, from comic books, British or American Information Service handouts, encyclopaedias, Geographic or other illustrated magazines, newspapers, Scott novels, Shakespeare, or a combination of any or all of these sources plus the imagination of the designers. A basic requirement is that there should be an extensive hierarchy of Kings, Queens, High Priests, Priestesses, Sun Gods, Generals, Pashas, Knights, Warriors, and several ranks of ordinary soldiers and slave girls, known as "floor-members". This hierarchy not only provides a masque for every taste and pocketbook, but also faithfully reflects both the African and the Crown Colony societies. Historical bands tend to be more tightly organized than other types, and are often "brought out" by semi-professionals who design the costumes, contract for the music, sewing, bead and wire work, and the "refreshments", direct the band in the streets and on the stages, and give a fete afterwards, all for a flat fee.

Like the Clowns and Red Dragons, historical bands must be accompanied by a "music band of stringed and wind instruments rather than by a steel band such as accompanies military masques. Music bands are rare and expensive, thus requiring a fairly large number of masquers to support them, usually 40 or 50, and often several hundred. They play a special carnival music based on local and foreign popular music both old and recent, but marked by "syncopation", which in Trinidad signifies the constant repetition of a short phrase of music combined with very strongly marked rhythms. This music encourages ecstatic "jumping-up", while the steel band music is more suited to a slower, shuffling step. The typical dance step of historical masques includes the opening and closing of a cloak or the holding forward of the edges of a shirt or jacket while the lower part of the body is bent forward executing "winin" and the head is thrown back, while the feet occasionally leap up or perform complicated acrobatic arabesques. The historical bands and sailors are the only masquers whose faces register pleasure, excitement, or abandon. A much more common expression combines intensity, earnestness, exertion, fatigue, and a kind of fanatical zeal which must be a much more powerful emotional experience than mere abandon.

Traditional historical costumes tend to use purple and white or any other two-colour combination, honeycombing, embroidery, laces, pleating, rhinestones, but no mirrors or swansdown. Hats or crowns are beautifully conceived and constructed in wire and then covered in cloth. These are held on the head by a hood or fula of merino cloth or satin, a continuation of the old pattern of 1847 for covering the hair.²⁹ The robes themselves are

²⁹Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

similar to those of a Catholic priest vested for Mass. The skirt is often accordion-pleated, and over it go one or more panels, capes, chasubles, cowls, and hoods, each one of contrasting colour and material, and each heavily decorated even where it will never be seen by anyone but the masquer. Sleeves are double, triple, and quadruple, tight, loose, Japanese, tucked, puffed, honeycombed and slashed. Sometimes a long cloak goes over all, or a "gowng" like a magician's cape. Some masques have long wigs of combed, dyed and curled hemp rope, and others have carved wooden sceptres and orbs set with false jewels, metal spears and halberds, banners and flags, wands of office, spiked "cossack" clubs, ball-and-chains, daggers, or any other required or appropriate properties. Metal crowns, helmets, wristlets, breastplates, brassieres, belts, anklets, and jewelry show both authenticity and originality in their combination of local materials with commercial gewgaws into designs of real merit.

In the intensity of research for perfect authenticity, the historical bands have recently added short skits, the knighting of a warrior, obeisance before a King, Joan of Arc at the Stake ("with real fire"), a Greek or Cambodian dance, a royal marriage ceremony, or the sacrifice of a victim on an Aztec altar. But for all the attention to authenticity of detail, this authenticity is sacrificed whenever it clashes with sacrosanct carnival tradition and taste. Richard III as King of a Band could not be a hunchback because it would spoil the looks of the masque and no one would want to play it. The rough brown monastic robes of Friar Lawrence in "Romeo and Juliet" weren't "pretty" enough, so they were "nastied up" with rhinestones, sequins, and gold braid. Greek warriors with epicanthic folds over their eyes, dark skins, or heavy tortoise-shell glasses are not seen as incongruous, but the addition of swansdown to a Red Dragon gown can have repercussions throughout the island.

"Original Bands"

The term "original" sometimes means traditional or authentic, as in the case of "Original Wild Indians". But when applied to a type of band it signifies the exact opposite, a band conceived with originality, or created out of fantasy or from unusual, non-traditional sources. Many of these bands play only on Monday, after which the same groups come out with a traditional masque on Tuesday. The range of costs and kinds of costumes are very great, from elaborate historical-like bands such as "Chu Chin Chow in the Court of Kasim Baba", or "Invaders from Space" with their finely crafted copper helmets, to the impersonations of "The Queen's Garden Party", to the prim elegance of "Elite of the 17th Century" carefully masked and delineated from the mob by a rope around the band, to "Winter Games" with cotton snowballs, "International Circus", "A Day at Helsinki" (Olympics), to such simple masques as "Obeahmen and Bushvendors", "Spanish Vagabonds", "Haitian or Annamese Peasants", or "The People of Iceland" with their white swansdown Eskimo parkas. Original bands use both string and steel band music, and are usually not masked.

Advertising bands constitute a very minor aspect of the traditional carnival, but loom important in the minds of masquers and spectators. At the beginning of a discussion of carnival, most Trinidadians bewail the past when carnival was fresh and vital, and not "too commercialized" as at present. It is difficult to find this commercialization, unless by it they mean the relative organization of the bands' movements through the exigencies of the several competitions. Aside from the merchants who sell the cloth and the rum, only a very few organizations or individuals seem to profit directly from carnival. Many of the organizers and artists actually lose money or provide their time and effort free, though it must be admitted that this is usually unintentional, the result of miscalculation. The few advertisers who bring out dancing groups or decorated lorries, or pay for their products' names to be stencilled on jerseys are evidently unaware of the strongly negative reactions of a large segment of the public, particularly the middle class "professional spectators" of carnival. Advertising bands may backfire in still another way: a group of aging ladies in somewhat bedraggled douillettes carried signs reading "Black is White, drink—(a sweet drink)" although it was apparent to the most uninitiated that what they had been drinking was not sweet. Conversely however, merchants gain the goodwill of hundreds of masquers by endowing suitable prizes, cups, and plaques.

Juvé and Old Masque Bands

Juvé (French *jour est ouvert*, "day opens") is that part of Carnival between the end of Dame Lorine and the coming out of the Monday masques in late morning. By ordinance juvé now begins at 6 a.m., but it is thought to have been much funnier and broader when played in the darkness just preceding dawn. Juvé masques are extremely varied, allowing for almost any crazy improvisation. They include parts of last year's costumes, flowing velvet robes worn over scanty underwear, an Indian breech clout combined with a hot shirt, a girl or man in a very short, tight dress depicting a "Tobago Saga Woman", an old woman in a tea box, parodies of current events and local characters with jokes or pointed commentaries made on crudely printed signs fastened to the costumes or carried on sticks. Nowadays juvé is said to have degenerated because so many masquers appear only in denim jeans and hot shirts to follow the steel bands before going off to make a gesture of working Monday morning. The juvé of San Fernando remains more traditional than that of Port-of-Spain, and attracts many people from "towng".

"Old Masque" (or ol' mas') is the general term for costumes made from old clothing, rags, or castoff materials such as burlap "bag". It is also used loosely for any band involving a joke or gag, like the 1954 mice band with a costume labelled "StreptoMICEin". Old Masque bands appeal mostly to the middle and upper classes. An Old Masque dance is traditionally held by the French Creoles in Arima in the weeks before carnival. "Bajan Cooks" has been a popular masque with upper-class Creoles for many years. But by its nature Old Masque is not traditional, since innovation is its keynote. Occasionally Old Masque bands play in the streets on Tuesday, with such

themes as "Man Must Live", "For Better or Worse", "A Day at the Races", "The Cheaty (City) Council", or "The Seven Stages of Man". The last named included mewling and puking babies, rum-drinking schoolboys with shining morning faces, indescribable sighing lovers, and an ancient hearse with a very lively corpse. A 1954 band, "The Singh Story" based on the celebrated murder case continued the tradition and produced the desired and equally traditional response of public indignation, heated discussions of bans and illegalities, and letters to editors about "bad taste". It is interesting to note that of all the traditional types of bands, only Old Masque and Sailors employ innuendo, and that to only a limited degree.

The Changing Attitude of the Coloured Middle Class Towards Carnival

BARBARA E. POWRIE

THE first immigrants in Trinidad were West Europeans and African Negroes. From the beginning these peoples, formed distinct and separate social units, and only at the economic level was there any form of association. It was a two-class society, upper and lower, white master and black slave. But, as is well known, there was a phase during which there occurred sexual unions. Children of mixed European and Negro parentage were born, but the social barrier between the parents, or whites and blacks, was in no degree lessened. Continued immigration of whites and the gradual establishment of their own family units ended the spate of black-white liaisons. However, this did not alter the fact that a new and recognisable social group had been established. The mixed, or coloured, population filled, without truly bridging, the social gap between the upper and lower class.

Economic, administrative and legal developments which took place in Trinidad, particularly those which followed the emancipation of the slaves, depended for their success on the emergence of a middle class. Indeed, articles and letters to the editor which appeared in the local newspapers in the 1840's made occasional clamour for the creation of a middle class.¹ It was even suggested that organised immigration of low-status Europeans be initiated for the specific purpose. Eventually it was perceived that a ready-made middle class existed in the island and that the importation of a middle class *en bloc* was neither practicable nor necessary.

The coloured people had withdrawn, as far as possible, from social contact with their black cousins. But they were not accepted or drawn into the social community life or their white cousins. This isolation, both self-created and enforced, plus the common aspiration to be 'white' resulted in closer association between the coloureds. They copied the manners and behaviour of the whites, education became *de rigueur*, and 'respectability' was the aim of all concerned. Respectability seems to have been—and still is to a large extent—the supreme aim of the coloured middle class, and the only certain method of achieving this aim was felt to be via the marriage ceremony. The lower class established consensual unions, and, without regard for the permanence of such unions, the Church and the whites condemned the consensual form as being yet another indication of the immorality of the lower class. The coloured group was not slow to ally itself with the opinion of 'authority', and the importance of the marriage ceremony as a preliminary to starting a family took firm hold with them. They married within their

¹For example, see *Port-of-Spain Gazette*, "Council of Government", 11th February, 1840.

own group and multiplied accordingly. It is these facts of social history which give us the story behind the existence of the present-day coloured middle class.

In most other of the West Indian territories it would not be necessary to prefix the term 'middle class' with the word coloured—it goes without saying. It is essential to draw attention to the addition of this word when discussing social stratification in Trinidad. The population of Trinidad can only be defined as segmented, for it is not split horizontally in the sense that there are homogeneous upper, middle, and lower strata which cut through the entire society. Instead, there is a complex pattern of self-contained, parallel, social hierarchies—each with its own upper, middle, and lower classes. Broadly speaking, these hierarchies are one of two types: the first, and it is applicable to one large segment only, is based on colour, this is the white-coloured-black structure; the second is of a purely ethnic type, and contains such segments as the East Indians, Chinese, Portuguese, and Syrians. The coloured group contains a tiny proportion of persons whose ancestry is further complicated by occasional marriages with individuals from the ethnic structures.

Today, the coloured middle class is a distinct and recognisable social group. In the main, it is definable on the basis of colour, but it is further differentiated from the rest of society in an occupational sense. Again speaking broadly, the clerical and executive levels of the Civil Service embraces and is embraced by the coloured middle class. A few have entered the professions or found employment at clerical or executive level in industry and commerce, but their number is negligible in relation to the group as a whole. Manual work, even at a skilled level, is frowned upon and is taken up only as a last resort. Private enterprise by coloureds is rare—it is in this field that great strides have been made by individuals from the ethnic groups. The respectability of the Civil Service appeals to the coloured middle class, and until recently it was the only reasonably well-paid employment available for a coloured person who had gained his school certificate.

Respectability is the keynote of coloured middle class existence. The ideal person and form of behaviour is still 'white' and life is patterned to conform as closely as possible to all that is felt to be contained within this ideal. The idea that there is anything identifiably Trinidadian which could command respect, interest or admiration is ardently rejected in favour of outward imitation of the ideal, the white culture pattern. But the coloured person has a dual culture heritage—the outwardly rejected and condemned black culture, and the colonial white culture. It is this duality which gives rise to so much inner conflict and outward lack of positive quality or personality to the coloured middle class. Generations pre-occupied with the cultivation of negative personal character have produced the curious lack of character which today typifies the coloured middle class. Life is pursued in such a way as to ensure the minimum of individuality; conformity, of an almost absolute nature, is demanded in all spheres of social life, and this achieved through social pressure due to the relatively face-to-face organisation of the group concerned.

Under the circumstances it is small wonder that the annual two-day festival of Carnival is eagerly looked forward to and ardently entered into by the middle class. Carnival is, indeed, a grand and exciting spectacle, but in most western societies it would not be an event warranting year-round discussion or the near-frenzied enthusiasms which it evokes in so many Trinidadians. The reasons for this are clearly understood when we observe and study the social facts. The only social excitement available to the coloured middle class is the 'fête' or 'spree', which covers anything from a cricket match to a beach outing, from an informal drinking session to an organised party or dance. Rum-drinking is the almost invariable accompaniment to any fête. Without such a stimulant even the minor excitement of the fête-gathering would be recognised as the unexciting occasion which it really is, unexciting simply because it is a repeat of similar occasions which have been, and will continue to be, entered into with such frequent and monotonous regularity. This need of excitement plus the fact that the confines of life are narrow in all spheres, together with the tension created by the highly competitive 'sparring' for the few positions at the social and economic peak, necessitates some kind of periodic safety valve. This, then, is the value of Carnival for the coloured middle class.

In a true sense, Carnival 'belongs' to the black, lower class. It is they who, through most of its history, have been the outstanding participants. But, whilst Carnival is a direct expression of the folk, it also acts like a magnet for the coloured population. We have already noted that the excitement factor is the primary value of Carnival for the middle class. But to leave it at that would mean that we had ignored certain important factors of a secondary nature and no less important. The primary value copes with the situation at the level of conscious awareness, and we must, therefore, extend the analysis and also touch on deeper levels if the ultimate question of attitudes is to be properly understood.

Closely related to the excitement factor, and with especial meaning and importance for the female element, is the bearing which Carnival has on religious behaviour. Throughout the year the Christian Churches are regularly filled to overflowing by worshippers (the vast majority of whom are female). The Church and social convention presents a strict code of sexual behaviour to be adhered to—it is on this that hinges the whole of coloured middle class morality. Pious, naive, virginity is the approved ideal for young unmarried girls. Deviation from this ideal places such girls in danger of social ostracism. But it is difficult, and becoming increasingly impossible, to live the ideal life. Deviation is extremely common and the sense of fear and guilt harboured in the mind of the average girl gives hollow meaning to the outward show of piety based on regularity of Church-going. The married female, for somewhat different reasons, is, perhaps, even less happily positioned. She is supposed to be dedicated to the task of reproduction and attending to domestic matters, and this leaves her little time or inclination to go 'fêting' with the men-folk (and in any event, at no time of life is it common for men and women to enjoy their social pleasures in mixed company). Her life is narrowed down to a dreary routine of domesticity,

and her main social outlets and sources of excitement are gossip and attendance at weddings and funerals. She is more or less confined to her home and is expected to observe complete sexual faithfulness to her husband. Church attendance is important to her, for it represents a social outing where she can meet and gossip with friends. But her opportunity for 'sinful' behaviour is at a minimum and for her, too, Church attendance and particularly the Confessional is empty of meaning in a truly religious sense. Men, on the other hand, lead an exceptionally free existence, unhindered by the necessity to lead sin-free lives. Social convention demands that a man express his sexual urges freely and promiscuously. Few men attend Church—it would be impossible for a man to abide by Church teachings and at the same time do what is expected of him by his fellows. One woman commented on this by saying, "It is for females to go to Church, they have to pray for the men." Thus, whilst the religious significance of Carnival is unimportant for the men it is highly significant for the women. It is their annual opportunity to do all that the Church and society condemns, and, further, it encourages them to participate with so much feeling and outward show of devotion in the yearly religious climax of Lent and Easter.

At a very much deeper level, and applicable to both sexes, Carnival is also an opportunity to indulge the, normally, dissociated half of their culture heritage. The lower class is vehemently condemned and criticised by the middle class for all that it represents and does in the way of reminding them of their black ancestors. But the beliefs and customs of the black community are by no means unknown, totally discounted, or rejected by the middle class. From childhood at least some part of the folklore is learned in the home. Attitudes and beliefs are in many ways similar to those found at the lower class level. The powers of obeah are spoken of in hushed whispers and awe, and the assistance of the obeah man may be secretly sought in times of stress. All of this is accounted for by the dual culture situation of the coloured person. His outward, professed, and material culture is imitation white, his underlying, sub-conscious, and spiritual culture is black, it is his sub-culture. The unhappy, ill-knit 'fusion' of these cultures has produced the negative personality of the coloured people. Carnival is the one chance in the whole year when the socially embarrassing facts of inheritance can be used to advantage, freely and openly. Particularly for the females, the blessing of the Church (Roman Catholic, at least) upon Carnival behaviour gives sanctioned release from mental tension. It is only the exceptional and very enlightened members of the coloured middle class who are consciously aware of this sub-cultural aspect of Carnival. Sub-conscious awareness is evinced in the majority of persons, but it is presented in rationalised form. A common remark to be heard with regard to the attraction of Carnival is that "everyone joins in, it breaks down all social barriers". In fact, this is but a comforting myth. For example, it is a rare sight to come upon East Indian revellers, and, except as part of the audience at the Carnival contests, the whites take no part in the public merrymaking.

This general summary of what Carnival means to the coloured middle class is applicable both to the pre-war and present day population. But the

generalisation is declining in force and the bases of meaning are taking new shape. The needs of the middle class are not quite what they were before the last war and the change of attitude towards Carnival is both an index and a reflection of the changing needs. Before delving into the rather more abstract realm of attitudes it is necessary to continue, a little further, our pursuit of the facts. The time-span chosen for the discussion on change is between fifteen and twenty years and the specific areas for comparison are conditions as they were before the last war and conditions as they are today. Reference to Carnival and to the coloured middle class is to be taken, here, as applying only to Port-of-Spain. The data was collected in that city, it is the location of the more important changes in Trinidad social life, it is the main and most extensive area for Carnival celebrations, and it contains the greater proportion of the coloured middle class population.

Before the war, Carnival was a gay, colourful, free-for-all. The middle class donned its fancy dress. Men and women joined in the spirited *Jour Ouvert* celebrations, and obscenity commonly distinguished the Old Mas' costume. The women wore masks—mainly of a yashmak style, the upper part of the concealing cloth being a domino. They 'jumped up' and entered whole-heartedly into the street revelries and band parades at night when chances of recognition were at a minimum. Few parents would consent to their daughters joining a band. This was in part due to fear of their daughters being 'interfered' with by male revellers, especially those from lower class bands. It is a common Carnival custom for men to 'interfere' with the women—this interference being little more than a touching or pinching of the more outstanding parts of the female body. It was felt to be akin to rape. Those girls who did join bands did not parade the streets on foot. Lorries were used for the purpose, and the lorries would circle the Savannah, bearing their jumping, singing group of girls and musicians—men of the middle class might also join the girls on the lorries. The men themselves did not hide their identity with masks, or only a very small proportion did so. They 'disguised' themselves in costumes, which were generally constructed immediately prior to leaving home to celebrate Carnival. They were not so much complete costumes representing a particular theme as the addition of some item to their everyday wear, such as a bright cummerbund.

It was the 'street mas' and the street bands which attracted attention during the day and on Tuesday night. On the Monday night it was—and still is—common to attend Carnival dances, wearing costume, held at social clubs or public halls (for example, Princes Building). The Monday night dances were purely middle class in attendance, the white community attended its own dances, and the mixing of men and women was by contrast to their relative separation in the street activities. Children were allowed to wander about on their own, although the younger ones were normally accompanied by their mothers. On the Sunday before Carnival it was usual for a mother to take her children, clothed in fancy-dress, to the Botanical Gardens in the afternoon where she would stroll about with them. It was a kind of unofficial and individual parade.

This describes the general pattern of behaviour, but it would not be true to say that the entire middle class community entered into the spirit of

things with the same enthusiasm, indeed, some declined to participate at all. The reason for this is to be found in the heterogeneous make-up of the middle class. Although it embraces all coloured persons in the community it is sub-divided within itself into three main elements. The core, which regards itself as a minor aristocracy, is the descendants of the French-Negro mixtures. They are Roman Catholic by religion, and therefore specially enthusiastic about Carnival. The second group—which rates itself as equal to the first group in the matter of breeding—comprises descendants of the English-Negro mixtures. They are Protestant by religion and their Churches do not regard Carnival as a desirable pre-Lenten outlet. Thus, this group is more inclined to frown on Carnival and its licentious character. Not only are they conforming to the attitude of their religious leaders but also expressing their disapproval of Roman Catholics, and they more openly feel Carnival to be a somewhat disgusting outburst of paganism. The third group comprises those coloured people who have emigrated from other West Indian islands, and especially from Barbados. Unless they have emigrated from predominantly Roman Catholic areas, such as St. Lucia or Grenada, where some form of Carnival is an annual event, they have no feeling for Carnival. To them it is a peculiarly Trinidad phenomenon and the urgent desire to participate does not arise. Before the war the attitudes of these three groups were enthusiasm, disapproval and disinterest respectively, and this was in direct relation to the degree of their participation in Carnival.

Today the pattern of Carnival activity and behaviour has changed from what it was before the war. Masks are not worn by either sex, either during the day or night. Jour Ouvert costumes are seldom worn by women and fewer men take the trouble to don Old Mas' wear. Street bands contain a fair proportion of women and there is now no rooted objection to women taking part in such a band. Although, it may be noted, that the women are clustered in groups of their own sex in the middle and at the head of the band², and men no longer 'protect' them from the interfering hands of men from passing bands. The music accompanying the bands comes from steel band instruments, which have tones altogether mellow and less feverish than the brass-percussion bands of pre-war. The steel band music has effected a change in the old style of dancing or 'jumping up' by the band followers. Hitherto, it was truly a leaping into the air and required tremendous output of energy. The shaking and rolling of the body which old style 'jump up' produced was another reason for it being almost taboo for women. People felt that they were carrying things too far by indulging in such a sexy, obscene exhibition of themselves. Now, the dancing responds to the music by taking the form of a hip-rolling, swaying, shuffle—a very slightly exaggerated form of the dancing practised on the Trinidad dance floor all year round. This exaggerated and erotic dancing, known as "winning", no longer stands out as abnormal when performed in the streets under the public gaze.

²Before the war a very few, the more daring, of the women did join street bands, but they were clustered together in the centre of the band with men surrounding them on all sides.

A further point in connection with music is the fact that singing of calypsoes is no longer heard from the bands parading the streets. The reason for this is certainly partly due to change in the type and wording of the calypso. Commercialization and efforts to produce calypsoes 'clean' enough to be heard by the general public has helped to rob the calypso of much of its old wit, sting and commentary value. The music and not the words seems to be the thing which possesses 'catchiness' for the people today.

The number of middle class bands taking part each year is far greater than before the war. This is partly due to the break-down of middle class reluctance to be seen openly joining the street parades, and partly to the clique situation. The middle class bands tend to represent social cliques in their midst, and it does something to express group solidarity. Another factor which accounts for the greater number of middle class bands is the 'emancipation' of women, which was one of the by-products of the war. Women have benefited from this emancipation in two main ways. First, they are able to enjoy greater social freedom, and they are less inclined to fear the accusation of sexual promiscuity when they have been seen in male company or enjoying the social diversions for so long the preserve of men. Second, a greater variety of occupations are open to them, respectable and not too badly paid. This has given them a certain degree of economic independence and parading the streets in costumes with a band is a significant response, for costumes have to be paid for.

The two remaining major changes over the pre-war situation are in the matter of organised contests. In place of the Botanical Gardens stroll there is a well-organised Children's Carnival held on the afternoon of Saturday preceding Carnival. Children are entered singly or in groups for classified competitions, and prizes are awarded to the winners. It is the junior version of the adult band competitions which take place in front of the Grand Stand on Queen's Park Savannah on Carnival Monday and Tuesday afternoons. The middle class bands which compete in this event tend to build themselves on a theme borrowed from history or legend. The total complement of the bands are generally large in number, including several hundred people. Much time and thought is devoted to research and the emphasis is on characterisation and accuracy of costumes in matters of detail. The costumes are well-designed, colour is harmonised and balanced to give the whole mass a rich glow, and the leading characters are well-robed in ornate and beautiful costumes. In competition for individual entries the middle class display little interest and are conspicuous by their absence.

The other type of organised event is the Carnival Queen Contest. This is organised by a local newspaper and is purely commercial in sponsorship. The value and desirability of this event, held on the evening of Sunday before Carnival, is a subject for heated debate by the middle class. Many object to its mere existence, they feel that it does not belong to Carnival and has no meaning in relation to the traditional festival. Still more object to the election of any particular girl to the rôle of Queen. This latter objection is interesting in that it points the feeling of the middle class with regard to itself and its characteristics. It is felt that the winner should be representative

of Trinidad, and to the middle class this means someone representative of the middle class. Most of the entrants are coloured girls, and popular middle class verdict requires that a coloured girl be the winner. But satisfaction over the result is invariably marred by some 'defect' which the girl is said to possess. She is too dark, too fair, she is ill-educated or notoriously lacking in academic brilliance, she has no talents, her accent is too broadly Trinidadian, her family background is not of the best. These objections touch on something fundamental in coloured middle class mentality. It might be thought that, by an outsider, that a contest of this type could assist the coloured person to develop a standard of appreciation for female beauty which bore some relation to local reality, in place of the standard based on European or Hollywood ideals. But so deep-rooted is the ideal of whiteness that the only reaction is one of suspicion or disapproval. Each individual likes to think of herself as lighter in colouring and more European in appearance than she really is. There is no desire to feel lumped in with a group referred to as coloured. The selection of a girl to typify coloured beauty serves to draw attention to the social distinction between white and coloured, and this touches a very sensitive area of the mind and emotions. The winning girl is given a trip abroad as one of her prizes, and she will be very much in the limelight on this trip. This, too, arouses basic coloured middle class fears. They believe that her behaviour and manner on this trip should be faultless, and that one false move, which might reveal lack of education or sophistication, could result in their being damned and laughed at by the outside world. In spite of these attitudes the Carnival Queen Contest has become a major event in the Carnival programme. It has a certain amount of novelty and over-all appeal for the middle class. A glance at the audience packed into the Grand Stand reveals it to be almost one hundred per cent. coloured. The lower class is very poorly represented in the audience. The fact which gives it special respectability is that the expensive arena seats are occupied by whites and wealthy coloured people.

Before the war the coloured middle class attitude to Carnival varied from disapproval to ardent enthusiasm. It was enjoyed at the emotional level, and there was a thrilling sense of excitement and daring. Today, there is little disapproval. Carnival has attained the status of a tourist attraction, steel bands and calypsonians have won much praise from overseas, and many of the traditional, African, elements of Carnival has disappeared. All has become 'cleaner' and much more respectable. The middle class are at last inclined to take pride in something which is Trinidadian. In doing so they are developing a sense of nationality, or rather, expressing the emergence of this sense. But behind this new attitude there still lurks the old attitude to national unity. White is still the colour to respect and bow to, black is still the colour to despise. The coloured people have not yet grasped the fact that it is the craftsmanship, artistry, and inventiveness of the lower class which has given Carnival its wider appeal as a special attraction of Trinidad.

Carnival has lost much of its old appeal as a means to excitement, and it is rapidly becoming little more than a 'grand spree', when most people

can dress in any old thing or don their beach-party clothes. It offers a very pleasant opportunity to take time off from work in office and shop. The middle class is becoming distinctly more sophisticated, and emotional excitement is less of a novelty and gives less of a thrill than it did before the war. Intellectual excitement is growing in demand. The middle class sees little in Carnival to stimulate the intellect and an attitude of boredom is setting in. Even the women, who had so much to gain from Carnival in the way of short-lived freedom at one time, bemoan the boredom of Carnival. The life of the coloured woman, despite her 'emancipation', is still narrow and filled with restrictions, but there is much more freedom for her than hitherto. Her attitude towards Carnival is merely an index of her stirring desire for new fields for self-expression. This then, typifies the current attitude of the coloured middle class towards Carnival. Broadly, it is fun but the thrill soon wears thin and boredom mounts. The war and all the developments which have taken place in Trinidad over the last fifteen years have assisted in vastly broadening the outlook and extending the needs of the middle class. There has not been anything like so great a development in the **form or variety** of leisure-time outlets. The new attitude towards Carnival is but one expression of a felt need for improved opportunity for self-expression. The negative character is showing faint signs of asserting itself and seeking positive qualities.

Carnival in New Orleans

MUNRO S. EDMONSON

ON a broad scale of intercultural comparison the United States is often described as relatively lacking in ritual. The picture is painted of a sprawling, urban, materialistic society in which mobility and rapid change prevent the development of "folk" traditions and rapidly eliminate such traditions brought in by immigrants from other cultures. The relativity of this comparison is apt to be forgotten in the development of explanations of this difference between the United States and other more traditionalistic countries, and it is accordingly appropriate to make the equally valid observation that American life is punctuated by ritual at innumerable points.

Even aside from the elaboration of ritual in the specifically religious life of the United States, we may recall the ceremonial activity of the fraternal orders, the widespread celebration of patriotic holidays, the family observance of birthdays, anniversaries, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter and other occasions, the solemnities of school graduations, beccalaureates and commencements, office parties, testimonial dinners, award banquets, official receptions, ship launchings, inaugurations, housewarmings, corner stone layings, fairs, pageants, such occasions as Hallowe'en, Arbor Day, Labor Day, Mother's Day and so on and on—all of which create a composite picture of an almost frenetic ceremonial life. The social groups participating in these various activities and to which the ceremonial expression refers are as varied as the ceremonies themselves. Some rituals are sectarian; others, familial, and yet others are expressions of the solidarity of the school, the party, the club, the state, the nation, or the community. Many of the American rituals reflect several of these social groupings at once.

It is striking that among the ritual activities that might be described as "community" events, there appear to be relatively few that engage the participation of even a considerable fraction of the population of the community. In one very useful compendium of American community celebrations,* the vast majority of the ceremonials inaugurated before 1929, are described as specialized events (flower shows, music festivals, or sports competitions). A minority of these older festivals are the "fairs" of the states, counties and regions, organized in a pattern largely derived from England. Beginning in 1930, however, there has been a burgeoning growth of community celebrations, especially in the towns and smaller cities of the country. Most of these festivals are set apart from the fairs of earlier times by their emphasis on tradition and commemoration rather than trade, production and exchange. It is striking that a large proportion of them have an element of literal nativism—the glorification of a romanticized Spanish, French, Indian, Frontier, Colonial or European peasant past. The contrast

*Meyer, Robert, Jr., *Festivals, U.S.A.*, New York, 1950.

is sufficiently marked to suggest that the growth of community ritual in the United States may be a part of the reaction of small American cities to the frustrations and anxieties produced by the Depression of 1929-1933.

Among community rituals New Orleans' Carnival is unique. With the possible exception of the Mummers' Parade in Philadelphia it is the oldest of the big city ceremonials;* it appears to engage a broader participation than any ritual in a comparably sized city, and it seems to have been the American point of origin of many of the ritual customs that have found their way into the social life of other cities in the United States in recent years. Illustrative of the distinctiveness of Mardi Gras time in New Orleans is the contrast it makes with the outstanding celebrations of other large cities:† New York's Easter Parade, Los Angeles' (Pasadena's) Tournament of Roses, Boston's Patriot's Day, St. Louis' Veiled Prophet's Ball, Washington's Cherry Blossom Festival, St. Paul's Winter Carnival, Cleveland's Air Races, or Portland's Festival of Roses. The state fair remains the outstanding event in Detroit, Milwaukee, and Providence, as in many smaller cities, and several of the largest cities in the country (Buffalo, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Seattle, Houston, and San Francisco) have no real ceremonial focus.

In New Orleans the Carnival celebration is protean and all embracing. It is not only the annual focus of activity of a large number of New Orleanians and visitors; it is also a social issue. It not only expresses the society of New Orleans and integrates the city's life into one large ceremonial, but also reflects faithfully its complex society and social differentiation. From an examination of the organization of the Mardi Gras festivities, therefore, we may infer a great deal about New Orleans' view of itself as a city and about the attitudes and values of various groups of its people.

The Carnival season begins in New Orleans in the last week of December and ends officially at midnight on Mardi Gras. Since Mardi Gras may fall any time between 3rd February and 19th March the season may last from about five to twelve weeks. The programme of activities during these weeks may be divided into three general phases, of increasing tempo and participation. During the first phase, the Carnival celebrations take the form of balls, dances and parties by carnival clubs, schools, and other organizations. After about 27th December there is one of these celebrations every night except Sunday, and on most nights there are three or four. Beginning about two weeks before Mardi Gras, the second phase of Carnival is marked by the addition of street parades. The balls and parties continue at an increasing pace. There are more than fifteen big street parades, and at least that many more minor and local ones are staged by schools and other groups. The final and climactic phase of Carnival is Mardi Gras, when parades, parties and balls are accompanied by general street masking and the participation of a large number of unorganized or loosely organized groups of maskers.

*The traditional dating of the inauguration of modern New Orleans' Carnival is from the founding of the Krewe of Comus in 1859.

†The cities named are all those whose 1950 metropolitan populations exceeded that of New Orleans.

CARNIVAL BALLS

The Carnival Balls constitute the most distinctive feature of the first phase of Carnival. Over eighty of these are held to be "official", almost all of them being held at the Municipal Auditorium. Those participating are the members of the carnival organizations called *krewe*s, their dancing partners, the ruling king and queen and their court, the guests invited to witness the spectacle, and the musicians, stage manager and other technical and professional assistants. The balls are organized by members of the white upper and middle classes. Traditionally the ball begins at nine o'clock with a tableau, a dramatic performance with music but without words by amateur or professional performers. The elaborately decorated stage and the performance of the tableau set the theme of the ball, drawn usually from fantasy or folklore. The end of the tableau usually coincides with the appearance of the *king*. Customarily, the tableau is followed by the entrance of the *queen* and her court, although sometimes the queen's entrance precedes the tableau. (In the upper class, the queen and maids are expected to be formal debutantes, although this is not always the case.) Often there is a brief presentation of the reigning queen of the year before, which may precede the tableau or be part of the court ritual. Formal presentation of important guests is also customary. The queen is welcomed by the *king*, and is accompanied by her *maids*, who are met and escorted by *dukes* for the grand march. Following the grand march there is a formal programme of ballroom dances in which the *maskers* (members of the *krewe*) "call out" their unmasked guests as dancing partners, presenting each one with a *krewe* favour at the end of the dance. A *floor committee* of men in full dress is charged with responsibility for locating the dancing partners among the crowd of invited guests. A *reception committee*, similarly attired has the honour of escorting the queen and her court into the hall. The administration and organisation of the *krewe* and the direction of the tableau and the dances is in the hands of the *captain* of the ball, who is assisted by a number of *lieutenants*.* Broadly, the Carnival Balls are phenomena of the white upper and upper middle class, although the recent history of Carnival in New Orleans indicates clearly the gradual extension of participation through the society. Equally important in assessing the position of the *krewe*s and their balls is the fact that they furnish the pattern for Carnival celebrations throughout the city, indeed, to some degree, throughout the nation.

Primarily, the *krewe* type of organisation and the formal ball are adult celebrations, but the pattern of the festivities is a model for a large variety of parties, dances, pageants and balls for children. A few of these are formally organized *krewe*s. Formal balls of a "krewe" type are also

*Arthur B. LaCour's *New Orleans Masquerade* (New Orleans, 1952) is an invaluable summary of the more highly structured Carnival celebration of the white upper and upper middle classes—the *krewe*s and the *marching clubs*. Robert Tallant's *Mardi Gras* (Garden City, 1948) is a broader treatment, including a description of the Negro lower class *tribes* and *gangs*. There are no published accounts of the *school* carnival celebrations nor of the Negro upper and middle class *carnival clubs*. The *New Orleans Item*, *Times-Picayune*, *States* and *Louisiana Weekly* publish valuable materials that help to complete the picture.

held in the Municipal Auditorium by several local dancing schools. Most of the children's Carnival parties, however, are functions of the public and private schools of the city. There is some measure of class structuring to these affairs, the children's krewes being upper class and the dancing schools upper or upper middle. The school parties fairly well blanket the class spectrum. Similar school pageants and local parades are held at both white and Negro schools throughout the city.

During the period of children's festivals and adult Carnival Balls of the schools and krewes in White society, the New Orleans Negroes of the upper and middle classes stage a series of formal dances and parties. These are organized by *carnival clubs* differing in organization from the white krewes. The clubs, for example, commonly have such officials as a *president*, *vice-president*, *recording secretary*, *treasurer*, *reporter*, *financial secretary*, *business manager*, and *chaplain*. Remarkably, there is no *king*. In some clubs there is also a *captain of the ball*, although his place may be taken by a *master of ceremonies* (who may be an officer of the club). As in the white krewes of the upper class, the upper class Negro clubs insist on formality, and restrict their choice of *queens* and *maids* to debutantes or other girls of validated social position. Some of the Negro Carnival Clubs hold masked balls; often the members simply appear in formal dress. It is striking that in borrowing the pattern of mock royalty from the upper class white Carnival, the Negro clubs have not institutionalized the male dominance implied by a *king* and his *dukes*.

CARNIVAL PARADES

The second phase of New Orleans' Carnival is marked by the appearance of elaborate street parades, beginning about two weeks before Mardi Gras and continuing almost daily to the climax of the ceremonial. Sometimes as many as four or five fifteen-float parades wind through the city in a single day, and there is commonly a parade each afternoon or evening during the last week before Lent. These street parades are mainly a function of a few of the white krewes. Some of them bear old proud names in Carnival history (Momus, founded in 1872, and Proteus, 1882); others are identified with particular regions within the city (Mid-City, Choctaw, Thoth, Midas, Freret, Grete, Carrollton). Some (like Adonis, Orion and Venus) are women's krewes, others are business men's organizations (Okeanos, Babylon, Hermes). All of them parade in the same general regal style, the masked krewe members riding high on the ornate floats throwing trinkets to a roaring crowd.

But the participation in the Carnival parades is not restricted to the members of the krewes. High school bands drawn from local schools and from many towns of southern Louisiana, Mississippi or even distant states parade proudly with the krewes. The City of New Orleans decorates the parade routes with Carnival banners (of purple, green and gold) and enormous masks. Each parade is given an escort of city and state police, and is accompanied by technicians to keep the parade moving. (The floats, formerly mule-drawn, are now drawn through the streets by tractors.) Customarily the dukes accompany the parade on horseback. The night parades necessitate a large number of Negro flambeaux bearers, who cakewalk down the street

in white hoods, bearing the flares that light the way. Thus a private club takes its place in the much larger circle of a civic ritual.

MARDI GRAS

The tempo of the Carnival celebration and the extension of participation in it come to a climax on the day before Ash Wednesday. The program of activities is extensive and colourful, and involves an estimated half a million people, including a considerable proportion of out-of-town visitors. All social classes participate. The day begins with the street parade of the Zulu Aid and Pleasure Club, a lower class Negro carnival club using a mock African motif to parody the mock royalty of the white krewes and the pretensions of society generally. King Zulu and his queen ride their elaborately seedy floats, toasting the passers-by in beer and handing out coconuts to the crowd. They are accompanied by a jazz band and a number of Negro maskers of the lower class, strutting, "walking raddy" and "shaking on down" as the parade winds through the back streets all day long.

There is general street masking, and a long-standing tradition is maintained by neighborhood bands of lower and lower middle class Negro "Indians", usually marching together in "*tribes*" chanting distinctive "tribal" songs strongly reminiscent of calypso. There are some 24 tribes of Indians including such groups as the Creole Wild Wests, Little Red, White and Blues, Yellow Poker Hunters, Black Mohawks, Eighth Ward Hunters, Wild Squatoulas and Gerounemores. It appears that formerly the tribes engaged in neighbourhood fights at Carnival similar to the stick fighting of Carnival in Trinidad, but this has not been true for more than a generation in New Orleans. Parallel to the Indian *tribes* are the Gold Diggers and Baby Dolls (and possibly some others), rival *gangs* of prostitutes of the Negro lower class from different neighborhoods.

Negroes of the middle and upper classes participate in traditional Mardi Gras parties (the Gaylords' breakfast dance, the Your Friends mid-day dance, the Jug Buddies' afternoon party, for example, join the spectators at the parades or celebrate by masking).

St. Charles Avenue and Canal Street, the focus of Carnival, becomes crowded with maskers and spectators early on Carnival Day. Old homes on the Avenue many of them draped with the royal flags of the past kings of Carnival, are crowded with upper class spectators, while the stands built along the parade routes fill with patrons of the middle class. Most children and many adults appear elaborately costumed and masked, and wander around the main streets looking at one another. An uneven procession of (primarily middle class) *marching clubs*, many of them with small bands of musicians and a common costume theme, parade past City Hall and join the crowd.

At around ten in the morning the parade of the upper class Krewe of Rex begins its long trek from uptown down to the centre of Carnival, pausing at City Hall to exchange toasts with the mayor of the city and at the Boston Club on Canal Street where the King of Carnival (i.e., of the Krewe of Rex) toasts his Queen.

Following the Krewe of Rex down to Canal Street are the middle class Krewes of Orleanians and Crescent City, parades of decorated trucks manned by volunteer maskers mainly of high school and college age. As many as 150 of these trucks may eventually reach Canal Street, each with its theme elaborated in costuming and decorations. The parading which begins with Zulu and the marching clubs thus continues virtually all day—the trucks continue to arrive downtown until about four o'clock. During all this time the elaborate costumes of the street maskers vie with the parades for attention, and the downtown bars and restaurants do a land-office business. The French Quarter becomes more and more the centre of this less formal part of the festivities as the day wears on, and the licence of costume and of behaviour reaches its peak there. The Bohemian set and female impersonators are a distinctive feature of Carnival in the Quarter.

Usually the great crowds of noon-time have dissipated by sundown into private and semi-private parties in the bars, restaurants, hotels and homes of the city, but by 7.30 a large number of people are again on hand to witness the night parade of the Krewe of Comus. At about 9.00 or 9.30 the balls of the Krewes of Comus and Rex are underway at the Municipal Auditorium, and at about 11.00 the King and Queen of Rex leave their ball to join the King and Queen of Comus in a symbolic gesture regarded by many as the heart of Mardi Gras. Since the Krewe of Comus is generally considered to be *the* elite krewe, while Rex, though formally monarch of the whole Carnival, represents a somewhat less exclusive and more public set of values, we may agree with Saxon* that a critical aspect of the whole of Carnival is contained in the formula that when the courts meet Rex visits Comus.

Mardi Gras ends at midnight. Most of the spectators have retired long before that. Private parties sometimes continue into the early morning, but by the formal beginning of Lent the city is supposed to be unmasked and the ceremonial is considered as ended. Carnival motifs continue to be used at parties through the spring season, and a few maverick carnival dances may be held, but these are exceptions and not *comme il faut*.

PARTICIPATION

With regard to the participation of the people of New Orleans in Carnival activities, it is useful to differentiate between the "public" and "private" aspects of the celebration, separating activities open to the public (the parades and street-masking) from those limited to private associations and their guests (including the krewes, carnival clubs, schools, and similar groups). In each of these areas we may then distinguish three degrees of intensity of involvement in the celebration. People may attend the parades and balls as *spectators*, as *guests* or street maskers, or as *members* of the krewes, clubs or parades. The following table presents estimates of the numbers of people involved in Carnival in these various capacities.

*Lyle Saxon, *Fabulous New Orleans*, New York, 1928.

PARTICIPATION IN CARNIVAL IN NEW ORLEANS

	<i>Children (under 21)</i>	<i>Negro Adults</i>	<i>White Adults</i>	<i>Sub- total</i>	<i>Visitors</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
PUBLIC CARNIVAL PARTICIPATION							
Paraders ...	7,000	700	1,600	9,500	6,000	15,500	2
Maskers ...	19,000	5,400	20,400	44,800	(?)	44,800	6
Spectators ...	168,000	70,000	149,000	387,000	100,000	487,000	69
PRIVATE CARNIVAL PARTICIPATION							
Members ...	72,000	2,600	5,600	80,200	—	80,200	11
Guests ...	—	6,300	11,000	17,300	(?)	17,300	2
Spectators ...	—	—	120,000	120,000	42,000	162,000	23
Population ...	198,000	132,000	270,000	600,000	100,000	700,000	100

For many, possibly even for most New Orleanians, Mardi Gras is a children's festival. Many people attend the Carnival parades (or say they do) primarily or exclusively because their children want to go. The table of estimates would indicate that the participation of children in Carnival is proportionally much greater than that of adults. The participation of Negroes in Carnival would seem to be (again proportionally) only slightly less than that of white adults, though both for Negro children and for Negro adults the celebration is largely separate from the white festivities in the "private" sphere. There is a lingering aura of violence to the excitement of the great crowds at Mardi Gras, and many Negroes, especially among the lower class, are afraid of it. Nonetheless, it seems likely that over half of the adult Negroes in the city attend at least one of the parades.

The figure for adult white spectators at the Carnival balls may be high. It was estimated on the basis of one-half of the auditorium capacity, to eliminate the relatively insignificant factor of unfilled seats and the more important one of duplication. There are stringent attempts to limit ball attendance to the upper or upper middle class people, and it is likely that these are more or less successful, though it seems probable too, that some upper lower class New Orleanians have attended some of the "lesser" or "newer" balls, as local idiom has it. The "upper class" krewes have a "gentlemen's agreement" ban on Jewish and Italian guests, and are also very careful to preserve their class exclusiveness. It is possible that as few as 15,000 attend these 14 balls each year, and that they are almost entirely upper or upper middle class. In general, of course, the "call out" invitation lists are more carefully screened, and the number of "guests" in this category is accordingly more restricted. The estimate of the number of "moddy graws" or street maskers may be taken as a maximum. It is based on a proportional count in the downtown area on Mardi Gras. Masking is, of course, less common in other sections of the city. As is indicated in the table, it is impossible at this time to estimate the proportion of "call out" guests at the balls or the proportion of street maskers who are out-of-town visitors.

New Orleans' present population (1954) is estimated at close to 600,000. During Carnival it probably approximates 700,000. It appears that well over half of these (69 per cent. in our estimates) participate in Carnival at

least as spectators at the parades, and almost a quarter (23 per cent.) may attend Carnival balls. This degree of participation in a big city ritual appears to be most unusual in the United States.

IDEOLOGY

There can be little doubt that the main ideological content of Carnival is aristocratic. The gorgeously clothed krewe maskers ride their gaudy floats high above the *profanum vulgus*, carelessly and capriciously distributing their dime store largesse in response to cries of "Throw me something, Mister," from children and adults in the street below them. The carefully French style of masks, strongly reminiscent of the Marquis in *Tale of Two Cities*, adds to the illusion of arrogance and elegance. Nor is the aristocratic motif of mock royalty restricted to the parades; there is a very real and self-conscious ideology of exclusiveness to the membership of the krewes, and the court ceremonial at the balls is taken very seriously. Nowhere more than in Carnival is the traditional prestige dominance of the Anglo-French upper class in New Orleans so clearly expressed.

Carnival expresses, too, New Orleans' view of itself as a "Latin" city, meaning by this not that it is still French, but that it is gay, wicked, sophisticated, and subtly lascivious—all that the Anglo-American understands by the term "Latin." Although the formal religious element is no longer of more than very minor importance in Carnival, the ideology of the celebration is far more congenial to Latin Catholic than to Anglo-Protestant culture.* The drinking of champagne toasts as a formal part of the Carnival ritual, for example, brings about a sharp contrast between the behaviour of even the Baptists queens and kings and the complete ban on drinking by both the Baptist and Methodist denominations (the two most numerous Protestant groups in the city). The institutionalized licence of Mardi Gras, with elements of wholesale inebriation, transvestism, and even sexual licence, would be impossible in a truly pruitanical milieu. It is interesting that although the trappings of Carnival royalty are mainly designed on a European model of the late Middle Ages, the "official myth" about Rex, the King of Carnival, implies that he spends the time between visits to the city somewhere in the Middle East. To say that Carnival is "Latin" implies that it is exotic, and the impression is heightened by referring it to times long gone and places far distant. And if Spanish and French colonial times are too close to be romantic, there is always Arabia. New Orleans prides itself on being wicked, and it is likely that many tourist visitors go away convinced.

In considerable part, however, the French and Spanish tradition is romantic enough, and Carnival glorifies and romanticizes the genuinely colourful history of New Orleans to a very high degree. There is no doubt some revivalistic nativism in this, and it seems to be widely understood in the city that Carnival royalty expresses symbolically what New Orleans used to be. The menial role of the Negro flambeaux bearers, and the burlesque

*A majority of New Orleans' church-goers are Catholic; although the figures are disputed, it appears that Catholics are very close to being in the absolute majority in the population. The largest Protestant sects are the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Lutheran, in that order.

of Africa presented by the Zulus may be interpreted as reflecting the old plantation society. The planters (or their descendants—sometimes literally) are the men on horseback and on floats. There is, in any event, a strong traditionalism to Mardi Gras, and there are many people who deplore its popularization and vulgarization. The very fact that so large a segment of the population participates in Mardi Gras gives testimony, however, to the continued appeal of New Orleans' traditions to some people in all social classes. Apparently the glamor of the Old South, and of Creole times retains sufficient lustre that people are still eager to retain some identification with it, at least in fantasy.

It has been mentioned that throughout New Orleans Carnival is a social issue. A large minority of the population pointedly leaves the city for the season, and many people (for a variety of reasons) do not attend even the public parts of the festival. Some people regard the celebration as a colossal waste of time and money that might be better spent on civic improvements; some feel (with very little justification in the fact) that the whole thing is a publicity stunt. Some people resent the ethnic and class exclusiveness of its structure; others (particularly in the upper class) are equally resentful of the pressure brought to bear on them to participate. The anti-semitism and anti-Italian feelings of contemporary Carnival parallel the anti-Irish feelings of former times. Negro-White conflict is a subdued but threatening background rumble. (In former times Negroes were forbidden to mask; in current celebrations the Negro press complains of unnecessary arrests of Negro "troublemakers.") The preceding brief description of the Carnival will suffice to make it clear that invidious class comparisons are pointed up by Mardi Gras. It is not to be wondered at that class feelings might lead to conflict at this time. Thus in the 1953 Carnival season there was considerable local tension over the actual violence of teen-aged gangs of "cat" and "frat" boys, crudely identifiable with the lower and upper classes, respectively. Middle class (and other) boys who refused to take sides in this clash were labelled "squares". There is apparently some tendency for the tensions brought out in Carnival to appear even within the family as a source of annoyance between husbands and wives. Many people, at least, interpret the survival of balls and the "callout" system as largely due to the enjoyment of them by the ladies, and there is a tendency for men to attend unwillingly—especially if, as often happens, they are to sit in the balcony to watch their wives dancing with a masker friend below. The formal debutante system is intimately linked, in the upper class, to the Carnival balls, and some people feel resentment at the necessity for a rather considerable outlay of money in Carnival expenses in order to validate their daughters' claims to status. There are no doubt some visitors and many natives who are simply bored or apathetic about Carnival, a reaction that is perhaps to be expected to a ritual which properly demands participation rather than mere spectatorship.

As a result of these and other frustrations, there is a considerable feeling in New Orleans that Carnival is undesirable or unnecessary. The development of this feeling is probably one of the best indices of the importance

of the festival in New Orleans life. It should be noted that there is little cohesion to the "anti-Carnival" viewpoint: it is rather a series of objections and complaints about unrelated aspects of the celebration. This is doubtless inevitable in a complex society, and is the clue to the differentiation of New Orleans society into a number of segments, each of which has its own unique position in the general society, and consequently in Carnival. Friction between such segments, and between individuals of each and the demands made on him by his group, are inevitable. It is perhaps remarkable that they have resulted in only minority disaffection.

For the upper class Rex is Carnival. The leading krewes are felt to be performing a civic duty in furnishing a spectacle to the people of the city, carrying on the traditions of historic New Orleans, and providing, at great personal cost, a season of fun and merry-making to everyone. Care is taken to route the parades past available hospitals, to choose an eligible orphan to present the keys of the city to Rex, to arrange ringside seats for the elderly people of the Golden Age Club. The ideology of community service is coupled with the ideology of secrecy and class exclusiveness in the very organisation of the Krewe of Rex, which is reported to have an "inner circle" of membership more or less coterminous with the membership of the Boston Club, an exclusive social club of the city, and a less exclusive "outer circle" of membership drawn from among the business and professional leaders of the community. The King of Carnival is traditionally a member of the Boston Club, and his queen is the daughter of a member. Nonetheless, the krewe has a function as the leading official organization in the whole Carnival celebration, and this necessitates a less "exclusive" membership than that of Comus, for example. Symbolically, therefore, the fact that on Mardi Gras Rex visits Comus may be taken to mean that the monarch of the city-wide Carnival privately acknowledges the supremacy of the aristocratic upper class.

Rex is Carnival to the upper class in another sense as well. When it becomes necessary to cancel the Carnival celebration, as is formally done in time of war, the fact that the Krewe of Rex does not parade signalizes that for the upper class "no Carnival was held" during that year. Ordinarily the other upper class krewes will also cancel their parades and balls. In 1952, due to the outbreak of the Korean War (and certain more local difficulties), Rex did not appear. A more commercially minded group put together a Krewe of Patria with a soldier-king; most of the upper middle class krewes held their balls on schedule, and Carnival went on without a number of the upper class krewes. Officially, however, "Carnival was not held" because Rex was absent.

It is the upper class point of view that provides the dominant aristocratic note in Carnival, and while Rex is of paramount importance, publicly, privately all eyes in the upper class focus on Comus. Even a casual observer can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the ball of the Mystic Krewe of Comus is the top social event of the year in New Orleans—and it is no accident that it is the last official event of a crowded Mardi Gras. For those who know New Orleans society there are other krewes which share with Comus

its pinnacle of prestige, but Comus is generally taken to symbolize the social leadership of the established upper class. The brevity and obscurity of the tableaux of the upper class balls, the rigorous secrecy of membership and choice of monarchs, and the arcane classicism of their themes reinforce the impression of elegance and exclusiveness to which these balls are dedicated.

What the society leaders call the "commercial" stratum of society might be translated as the lower upper and upper middle class. For this group, broadly speaking, aristocratic exclusiveness is less important than conspicuous consumption. The street parades of some of these krewes and the tableaux of their balls are often far more spectacular than those of the higher prestige krewes, a fact which fits with the usual relationship between upper upper and lower upper classes in American communities. The ideology of community service is probably just as strong as in the upper class krewes, and associations of individuals of this class sponsor the popular truck parades on Mardi Gras, special viewing stands for orphans, and similar worthy causes. They are lavish in their provision of carnival "throws" for their parades. They cling to the appearance of exclusiveness, secrecy and *ton*, but a basically democratic ideology shows through almost despite them. Ethnic discrimination, for example, is not characteristic of this level of society.

There is little truly "commercial" feeling to Carnival. A few companies have tried advertising by Carnival give-aways or by street maskers, but the street parades are devoid of advertising. It is true that Carnival visitors bring into the city a trade estimated in the millions of dollars, but the hotel, restaurant and entertainment operators in the city need do little to ensure a maximum custom during the later period of Carnival. The city spends a considerable sum for Carnival decorations, and New Orleans' Mardi Gras is widely advertised, but these are relatively minor aspects of the whole celebration. In a subtler way it appears to be true that it is "good business" for many men to belong to Carnival krewes. They make important social contacts through them, are enabled to give visiting business acquaintances a real treat during Carnival visits, and often feel that they cannot afford not to join in. A great many doctors in the city find it useful to belong to the krewes for these and other reasons. To some extent these reasons for participation are true of both the upper and the middle classes. While the term "commercial" may, therefore, describe the occupational area from which the middle class krewes draw membership, it does not describe their ideology.

For the bulk of New Orleans white society, involvement in Carnival is more casual and diffuse. Its ideology is accordingly less structured. Many appear to feel that "a good time" is all that is involved. Probably most identify Carnival as primarily a children's festival and secondarily as a spectacle. The identification of New Orleans as "The City that Care Forgot" is probably as important to the lower and middle classes as the cool aristocracy and a genteel Latin wickedness are to the patricians. Large numbers of people participate in Carnival only as spectators or street maskers, and a considerable proportion of these are from the lower middle and lower classes.

Organizationally and ideologically the middle and lower class emphasis in Carnival may be characterized as democratic and egalitarian. The private carnival clubs of this social stratum represent neighbourhoods or regions within the city rather than occupational groups or prestige groups drawn from the city at large. Proportionally, too, there are fewer of them, and the bulk of the Carnival celebration is organized through existing clubs and associations—political groups, school associations, fraternal orders, and the like. There are even some balls thrown open to the public through the sale of tickets. The queens and kings may be elected rather than "selected". There is less of both formalism and formality. Everybody, it is implied, has a right to a good time at Carnival.

Nowhere in Carnival is the traditional licence of the occasion taken so literally or exercised so freely as in the Bohemian fringe. This loosely organized segment of the society involving artists, musicians, men about town, a few professionals, some college students and the comfortably unemployed, exists in a classless limbo with relatively free access to all classes. Its members may attend balls, or even join krewes, but its distinctive contribution to Mardi Gras comes in street masking. Costumes are often designed with the elaborate care typical of a Beaux Arts ball. There is a high incidence of cross-sex masquerading, and numerous portrayals of the fairies or Greek gods symbolizing the "gay" world of homosexuality. Defiant and contemptuous of the norms of the rest of society, New Orleans' Bohemia, largely identifiable with the French Quarter, uses Mardi Gras to dramatize its protest, and to enjoy itself with insistent unconventionality.

The lower class Negroes present their view of Carnival in subtle and ironic form through the Zulu parade, and more directly and superficially through the tribes of Indians, the gangs of Baby Dolls, Gold Diggers and Zigaboos, and the flambeaux bearers for the night parades. Ostensibly, the Zulus are granted the amused tolerance by white society for their burlesque of primitive Africa because it presents the Negro in a light more or less consonant with the white social myth as a primitive child of nature, fun loving, musical, and not too bright. Actually, the Zulu parade is subtler than this. It has sometimes engaged in rather pointed satire (handing out jars of hair straightener as "throws" for example), glorifies Negroes who have "made good," (Jackie Robinson was invited to ride on a float one year though he didn't arrive; Louis Armstrong has been King of Zulu), and attracts enthusiastic attention of crowds of whites and Negroes alike. By some process of economic scarcity or reverse snobbism a Zulu coconut is more prized than more conventional throws in many circles.

It is probably no accident that the lower class Negroes should memorialize the Indians. As a result of the Spanish practice of enslaving captured hostile Indians, a considerable number of Louisiana's Indians found their way into slavery, and many more inter-married with Negroes to become gradually assimilated to Negro status. There have been a few "Indian" masqueraders in recent years who have claimed actual Indian descent. The Indian "tribes" no doubt mainly reflect the neighbourhood gangs long characteristic of New Orleans Negro society. The Baby Dolls and Gold Diggers appear to reflect the feminine segment of the same lower class stratum.

These proceedings might be expected to outrage the sensibilities of the upper and middle class Negroes, and so they do. In a society where respectability is hard won and easily lost, and where self-respect is under constant assault, the "better class" of Negroes cling rigidly to "standards" in Carnival as in life. The carnival clubs reflect a democratic matriarchy to Negro upper and middle class life. The officials are those common to American "committees"; there is no king but ubiquitous queens. In the middle class a large proportion of the clubs are women's organizations (as is true in white society), or men and women's. In the upper class (again as in white society) they are men's clubs. There are attempts to limit the participation in the Carnival balls and dances, but these are less stringent than in white society. The carnival clubs re-affirm the basic ideology of gaiety and Latin charm of the whole carnival, but within limits imposed by a rather sedate formality.

As would be expected in a large and complex city, New Orleans' Carnival is a complex ritual. Both ideologically and organizationally it expresses a unity in diversity that is far more difficult to comprehend through contemplation than at a glance. It stands in an intermediate position between the community rituals of other American communities (many of which it has fathered) and the Carnival celebrations of the Latin Catholic world. It contains elements of the French, Spanish and Southern traditions, but in another sense is firmly geared to the contemporary world. Its structure is the structure of the city itself; its history is largely the city's history. We have seen that it is not quite true that Carnival is New Orleans, but it reflects faithfully the self-image of a society that has attained a degree of ceremonial integration unique among American communities.

Caribbean Theme: A Calypso

E. L. BRATHWAITE

1

The stone had skidded, arc'd, and bloomed into islands
Cuba and San Domingo
Jamaica and Puerto Rico
Grenada, Guadeloupe and St. Kitts
Nevis, Barbados and Bonaire.
Speed of the curving stone hissed into coral reefs
White splash flashed into spray
Wave teeth fanged into clay
Bathsheba, Montego Bay.
Bloom of the arcing summers :
Flamboyant flamingo flower
Tamarind tear tree
Green in the arcing summer.

2

In Dominique the last of the Caribs died
Last of the sick civilians of a sunken civilization.
Died with his faith to the sunset
And his faith was gold to the last
Died near the beaches, where the coconuts gossip and nod
Beyond the speeches of the evening tide.

3

The islands roared into green plantations
Ruled with silver sugarcane
Sweat and profit
Cutlass profit
Islands ruled by sugarcane.
Of course it was a wonderful time
A profitable, hospitable, well-worth-your-time
When captains carried receipts for rices
Letters, spices, wigs
Opera-glasses, swaggering asses
Debtors, vices, pigs.
O it was a wonderful time
An elegant, benevolent, redolent time
(And young Mrs. P's quick irrelevant crime
At four o'clock in the morning.)

For the others there was no tradition
They had lost the memory
By hours in the tom-tom sun
By the hot gutter of the lash that overflowed their backs
By the scorched hope of parents
Mourning names of children stifled among chains
When they had come to islands
Where the sick sea sucked the sand.

Islands arc'd in the sun
Mansions floodlit with fun
The waltz, the billiard table
And the cards.

Slave girls curved to the sun
Young landlords lusting fun
The beach, the stable
And the yards.

That's how the brown-skins came
You see her there
Mixed in her eyes the rain and cane
One smile the sun, one sun the snow
(There will be fools, mulatto.)
But what of black Sam
Of the big splayed toes
And the shoe-black shiney skin?
He carries bucket-fulls of water
'Cause his Ma's had another daughter

And what of John with the European name
Who went to school and dreamt of fame
His boss one day called him a fool
And the boss hadn't even been to school.

Steel drum steel drum
This is not my way of dancing
Hot rum hot rum
This is not my bacchanalling.

4

My shoot is sweet and slender
Like the crop-time cane
I love my skin, yet fain would have it peeled
In this hot field of prejudice
I fain would have the knife
Search out the rain within me
Would love the pain of being sucked
By strong white death.

I grow towards the sky, between the winds
Ripe as a pregnant girl
Hurting to feel the bright breath of the blade
Rip through me, through this green shade
Juicing towards the whistling steel's release
When I can streak towards the tom-tom sun
The flames of the sunset dance.

5

Where is your culture Jamaica
Haiti and San Domingo
Where is yourself Aruba
Cuba St. Kitts Barbuda
Some people doing well
While others are catching hell
O the boss called our Johnny a fool
And the boss hadn't even been to school.

6

Many migrate, fare far to miles of tubes and tramcars
To dig imagination and to find their roots
But all they get is tea-eyed stares
And double-breasted suits.

Once when we went to Switzerland, a rich old lady asked
Have you no language of your own
No way of doing things
Did you spend all those holidays
At England's apron strings?

And coming down to Bellevueplatz
A bow-legged workman
Said, I don't know why, but surely that's
A negre en Switzerland.

Our colour beats a restless drum, but only the bitter come.

7

Perhaps we should have gone to the lectures after all
To negotiate our heritage :
That we glance the banjo, dance the calypso
Grow our crops by maljo
Have loose morals, gather corals
Father our neighbours' quarrels.
Perhaps when they will come with their cameras and straw hats
We should go down to the beaches
And assume a vulgar stance
Then if we don't wear breeches

It becomes an island dance
Perhaps we should go to the lectures
Where the cars drive up at night
And John turns up upon the seat
Of a Raleigh bicycle complete.

8

I too have journeyed to the Serpentine
Where shine the white-winged doves
Autumn was adolescent, and walked the town's streets
Sleepy, lulled to dreams by bells.
But in the Tudor building
Lights smile on slight hypocrisy;
How I collected carbon-copy smiles
From the just-over-middle-aged
Anxious to 'place' me, to make me 'feel at home';
Smiled to hear Akibo quizzed until he knew the answers;
And when the tea-pots curved correctly,
Near me, like Icarus,
Watched them make notes of names
Invite battalions of us out to tea.

If I am as you are
Let me be so, for granted
Don't open doors for me
Or try to wash me white with smiles
If I am as you say you are
There should be no more than walks with you
And talks with you

There should be toasts of thoughts with you
There should be wine with you.

But rather help me to become the thing I am
To walk barefoot among the pools
Not with fool's pride
That this is Culture
But with unrumoured dignity
Of those who bait the vulture sea
Or watch their nets' geometry accomplished in the sun.

In Dominique the gold civilian fell
The others couldn't remember what tales the tom-toms tell.

No. Let me alone to wander where I will
Alone to wander if I will
To feel the hiss of the stone at sea
The rush of the islands growing under me.

Mitto Sampson on Calypso Legends of the Nineteenth Century

arranged and edited by ANDREW PEARSE

The text which follows has been compiled from two or three typescripts of Mitto Sampson, and from two hours of recorded interview. This procedure was necessary because Mr. Sampson left for the United Kingdom at short notice. He holds a unique place in the study of Trinidad social history. He is a polemic writer of force, as may be guessed from the titles of some of his articles—"When Vice Overflowed", "Trinidad, Political Stink-pot of the Indies", "Between Mirth and Muck", &c. Only 31 years of age, he has spent a great deal of his time in tracking down truth and legend, often inextricably mixed, about the underworld of Trinidad, either by frequenting "old heads", or else by perusal of the old newspapers.

Mitto Sampson's grandmother, Mrs. Florence Atherley, was a proprietress, a mid-wife known to have a healing hand. Her father was a Portuguese and her mother a quadroon. Mrs. Atherley's maternal grandmother had a deep interest in genealogy, and kept a book in which she noted all she heard about her forbears on the white and slave sides. This interest was passed on to her grandchild (Mrs. Atherly), a great raconteuse, whose hobby was reminiscing about old Trinidad. In her outlook she was something of an enigma. In her actions she was a negrophile, but privately a negrophobe, and always sided with Hannibal the Mulatto's sayings. She was very familiar with all his calypsoes. She was a kind woman, yet hot tempered. She was fond of predicting and sometimes her predictions were right off the mark. I once had a little companion who was a very dark urchin and pitched marbles with me. One afternoon I cheated him and he gave me a severe drubbing: he had my eyes swollen, and nose bloody. She looked at him: "You're a little rascal. Your future is the scaffold". Twenty years after the incident he was actually a doctor in Canada. I had another friend who was very quiet and mild-mannered and he actually was her favourite. She always termed him "a little gentleman—so well behaved!" He actually went to the scaffold in 1943. . . . She always tried to discourage me from being a writer; she claimed that most writers died poor. She did not know it, but she based the character of every writer on that of Edgar Allan Poe. She was a keen reader but she never loved any high brow stuff. She read Scott, Mark Twain and Conan Doyle, who was her favourite. Her grandmother passed on legends to her, one of which concerned Shadrach, a famous obeah man from St. Kitts. A woman came from Nevis to interview him because she wanted to damage an enemy who was her rival in love. He gave her a charm which would cause illness, but he warned her to throw it overboard if rain fell. She was so wicked and so bent on harming this woman that when rain fell, she refused to throw it overboard and placed it under her dress.

Soon after she broke out in what is known in creole parlance as *cocobay* but what is really known to be Hansen's disease or leprosy.

Mitto Sampson's father was a druggist, of mixed Negro and East Indian family in Arima. He was "fiercely negro", and a great reader of Darwin, Ingersoll and Tom Paine. His son read these books, and any others he could get from relations, voraciously. He went to Nelson Street Boy's R.C. School, Belmont Intermediate and St. Mary's College, mixing with the children of middle-class families at school, and at home in Nelson Street on the edge of the underworld, his companions were little slum children, and urchins from the La Basse with whom he fought, romped and pitched marbles. On leaving St. Mary's he taught for one year at Belmont Intermediate, went to work at the U.S. Base for a time, and then in an effort to devote my entire time to reading poetry and studying art I became a gentleman of leisure. I spent night and day in a garret reading and studying, haunting the libraries, reading old newspaper files, meeting queer characters and trying to dig as much as I could from them. I enjoyed that immensely,—more than anything else,—and I still do.

Mitto Sampson is probably best known around Port-of-Spain as a Strong Man. Finding himself weak from too much studying at the age of 14, he took up barbell training and became phenomenally strong, and a daring acrobat, diving from heights into crowded streets on occasions, and achieving the "hangman's drop" on his seventeenth birthday. He relates: I read how Palmer Burns developed his neck to such an extent that he was able to resist the Hangman's noose. I was fascinated with that particular facet of his life and I settled to duplicate it. I trained for 3 years doing neck exercises until I was able to do it. These feats led to the growth of a legend that they were accomplished by use of supernatural or demonic forces. What caused the legend to bloom is that I did eventually become a spiritualist and did extensive spiritual work, and people wrongly associated the diving over the river wall, the hangman's drop and the phenomenal strength with supernatural power.

Of the informants from whom Mitto Sampson acquired his knowledge of folk tradition, his grandmother was possibly the most important. Others were: Remmy Roberts "More popularly known as Bobby Alves, he was one of the most popular of raconteurs, a sweet man and a "Mako" (formerly this word meant a pander or tout, but has now come to mean a gossip monger, or a very fast person). In 1944 he was 93, with all his faculties intact. He spent an entire life in the underworld amongst calypsonians, bad men, panders, &c. He knew Piti Belle Lily, Alice Sugar, Mossie Millie, Ocean Lizzie, Sybil Steele, Darling Dan, Ling Mama, and all the long list of celebrated female underworld characters. Remmy Roberts was present when Alice Sugar fought in a brawl with the famous Cutaway Rimbeau and all the other fellows. He was very friendly with Lord Hannibal and he knew of all his calypsoes. Remmy Roberts told me "Son, calypso today come from the mouth, but long time it was from the soul. When the Canboulay stickmen sang 'Djab sé yò nèg, mè Dié sé nom-la blâ' they couldn't feel when you licking them, it used to deaden the skin . . . but today is nothing at all." The only living calypsonian whom

he considered was the venerable and esteemed Lord Executor. His favourite calypsonians of all time were Cedric Le Blanc and Lord Hannibal.

Shiffer Brathwaite who died in 1952 at the age of 82 had been a chauffeur, but was known to have been a good stickfighter, brawler and "butter". He was of the jamette class, but aspired to decency. He was not as well informed as Roberts because his life did not extend so far back, but he heard a lot second hand from Jo Jo and others, and kept a little book of clippings which his father had made of interesting events reported in the newspapers. He also learnt a lot directly from his father. He had extensive information about the underworld from the time of the Canboulay Riots (1881) onwards. He confirmed much that I had learned from Remmy Roberts.

Jo-Jo was a son or nephew of Thunderstone, Chantwell to the Congo Jackos, who lost his wife Cariso Jane to Surisima the Carib. He had the honour of bearing her notorious sister Alice Sugar to her last resting place. Jo Jo became a jamette in his early twenties, and later a wayside preacher. At times he was reluctant to give the salacious details, but would yield under pressure, though he thought it was a waste of time to probe into what was best forgotten. He was strong on African slave legend, and gave me calypsoes from Ofuba the Slave and his son Possum. If it were not for Jo Jo, the information about Surisima the Carib would have been lost; his father knew Surisima personally, and had taken part in the ceremony known as "the burning of Caziria". Jo Jo was over 92 when he died. What I learnt from him, I was able to piece together with the stories of my grandmother, Remmy Roberts, and other informants such as Ken Laughlin's father and Jean de Boissiere (Editor of "Calalou") who know much about Lord Hannibal, and French-Creole tradition.

If the claims of Surisima to a Carib origin of Calypso could be taken more seriously, if they had less of the aura of misty legend and Ossianic nostalgia, then it might be proper to give them priority. As it is, they will be given in the account of the mid-Nineteenth Century singers, of whom he was one. This leaves us with the Begorrat legends as a realistic starting point at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Anyone who visits Diego Martin today can raise the matter of Begorrat and Begorrat's cave with the older villagers, and be regaled with tales of a rather stereotyped character touching the cave, its treasures, and the guardian spirits which bring misfortune on those who dare to enter it. In addition to supernatural fears, there is also a belief that a serious treasure seeker, when he finds his quarry, must make a human sacrifice on the spot to "pay" the guardian spirits. As to Begorrat himself, he is spoken of as an old slave owner who was powerful and cruel, who used to hold court in the cave, and who would be carried to it on a litter borne by four slaves. The road to the cave goes Westward from the village zig-zagging up the steep hillside out of the Diego Martin valley, rather overgrown, but very well formed and wide, with a drainage ditch on either side. At about a thousand feet the road is so overgrown that it is difficult to determine whether it led originally to the cave, or whether it was built to provide a way into the neighbouring Tucker Valley. The cave (or caves) has two entrances, both very narrow, and running downwards in such a way that

soil has been washed down from ground level, and plugged up the passages as they straighten out. Quite near the surface is a large curtain stalactite, and the whole impression made is that they are entrances to an extensive system of limestone caves which may contain large chambers, and which probably lead subterraneously to an outlet to the sea three miles to the south by a system of swallets and dolines in the usual pattern of limestone formation.

Pierre Begorrat came to Trinidad from Martinique in the year 1784 with his son St. Hillaire. The estate on which the cave is situated is shown on Mallet's Survey Map (1797) as belonging to Begorrat, probably the son. Already at this early date he was one of the most powerful of the planters. According to an anecdote current 100 years ago, Picton soon after he became Military Governor of the island at its capitulation in 1797, is said to have called the Cabildo together, and, unbuckling his sword and laying it on the table, to have exclaimed: "I have called you together to dismiss you, as a set of the greatest villains in the place. I dismiss you all but Begorrat, whom I shall retain and appoint as one of the members of my next Council: for he is the greatest villain among you, and knows all that is going on: If he neglects to inform me of any émeute, I will hang him up forthwith". He acquired lands in several parts of the island, and became a close associate of Picton. In the famous case against Picton for the torture of Luise Calderon, it was Begorrat who, in his capacity as Magistrate of the City gave the order for the girl to be put to the picket as the appropriate legal method of extracting a confession from her. His name appears frequently in official papers. The only historical comment upon him which suggests that he was excessive in behaviour is a note by the commissioners on his extravagant claims submitted to the Inquiry in Titles to Land (case 45 "Port-of-Spain Gazette", 2/2/1828) saying that "the mind of the complainant must be indeed warped by passion or prejudice.".

Legend has it that Lawa (King) Begorrat used to hold court in his cave, to which he would adjourn with favourite slaves and guests on occasions and indulge in a variety of entertainments. The court was attended by African slave singers of "Cariso" or "Caiso", which were usually sung extemporare and were of a flattering nature, or satirical or directed against unpopular neighbours or members of the plantation community, or else they were "Mépris", a term given to a war of insults between two or more expert singers.

Gros Jean is said to have been the first of these bards or "chantwells" to be appointed Master of Caiso, or Mait' Caiso.

Whenever Begorrat got furious, one of his many wives hurriedly sent for Gros Jean to sing him back to serenity. Begorrat's weak spot was an inordinate craving to be known as a monster, pitiless, destructive and terrifying. There was one ditty in French patois which never failed to stir that pathologically egotistical tyrant. It went like this:

"Begorrat et Diab'la, c'est un
Begorrat et Diab'la, c'est deux
Begorrat fort, cruel et mauvais
Begorrat roi-la dans son pays"

It is said that Begorrat and Gros Jean became inseparable companions and that their friendship was of a kind to arouse the jealousy of the former's wives, who finally poisoned him. Begorrat swooned and fainted, cursed and swore, refused to eat for three days, while Gros Jean's body was being embalmed. He had it wrapped in flaming red fabric, placed a gold cross on his forehead, and buried him in the family's cemetery at Diego Martin.

Praising his voice another chantwell on the estate, Soso, sang

"Gros Jean, Gros Jean tu ni vuè di tonè

Gros Jean, Gros Jean tu ni vuè di tonè

Gros Jean, vuè u lévé mama mwê mò".

(Gros Jean, you have a voice like thunder

Your voice can raise my mother from the dead).

Soso, who succeeded to the title of Mait' Caiso after the death of Gros Jean, is supposed to have been elevated to the position of a Chantwell on being heard singing by Begorrat while waiting in the cachot for execution. One night his rich bass voice was so compelling that the slaves within ear shot all began to take up the chorus. Begorrat arrived on the scene, and stood enthralled. Sensing his presence, Soso stopped singing. Begorrat entered his cell and inquired: "Jeune homme, pourquoi avez-vous arrêté votre chanson?" to which Soso replied in Patois: "Mèt-la, ba mwê padô, souplé!" Smiling, Begorrat answered him: "Chantez, Soso, chantez!" Apart from being reputed to have had a taste for "wrinkled and decrepit women making his house a cross between a hospital and a house of refuge," and thus supposedly bringing into the vocabulary of patois the word "SOSO" for one who seeks lovers amongst the aged, he is spoken of as having been generous, humane, charitable, and in certain moods, extremely religious.

He met a violent end as a result of singing a Caiso destroying the character of one of Begorrat's enemies. Exactly a year afterwards his body was found horribly mutilated from tortures received from his master enemies, who had tried to force him to sing a song against Begorrat. It is said that one of his murderers later made a deathbed confession, naming the other participants, two of whom, Fouchet and Dardaine, were tortured to death in revenge.

Another famous singer of Caiso of this period was Papa Cochon, who is remembered perhaps more as a notorious obeah man and finder of hidden treasures. Through his dreaming ability, he is reported to have discovered large quantities of pirate gold for his masters on the Manzanilla beach and at Mucurapo. His powers of divination trebled the wealth of his owners and raised him almost to the status of a relative. They consulted him for everything including the capture of runaway slaves. It is said that when Papa Cochon whistled, the birds flew to him. He prayed snakes to death and the wildest animals grew docile in his presence. On several occasions he rescued his master's sons and daughters from death, though to accomplish his life-saving feats he needed certain ingredients. His miracle recipe included a young female slave's life (for blood sacrifices) the brain of a black cat, sea water, &c. As his reputation skyrocketed the resentment of the slaves quadrupled. Even if Papa Cochon did not actually murder one of his slaves for his rituals, the

slaves believed (and the owners also) that he had the power to transfer the disease from which his owners were suffering to one of the slaves. While preparing for some of his obeah tasks, he ate snakes, cats and dogs, slept in graveyards allegedly to hold meetings with evil entities. When his owners brought him down to Begorrat's court to sing against rival chantwells, Begorrat never failed to get predictions from him.

On one occasion Papa Cochon was invited by the L—— family ostensibly to sing. He accepted the invitation and he sang. He was never seen again. His owners made desperate efforts to locate him but to no avail. Tradition states that he was locked up in an underground dungeon and starved to death. So ended the life of Papa Cochon, arch-gossipist, scandal-monger, imposter and Chantwell, whose scarlet life hangs like a dark cloud over the slave era.

The chantwell Danois,¹ unlike his contemporaries, was a free man. He is remembered as "a mediocre singer, a first rate rascal and an all round thief". He was caught stealing vegetables from an estate, and burned alive after his limbs had been broken. Of him Papa Cochon sang:

Danois Danois

Danois vòlè Begorrat lajà

Danois vòlè Begorrat lajà

Danois vòlè tout moun—Dieg Martin.

(Danois steals Begorrat's money

Danois steals from everyone in Diego Martin).

The Mid-Nineteenth Century is profuse in stories of a group of famous singers. There was Possum, son of the slave Ofuba and a Black, Hannibal the Mulatto, Surisima the Carib, and Cedric Le Blanc, the famous white Chantwell.

Just as Ofuba had complained of the exclusion of the negro slave from Carnival, so his son took up a similar theme in the following circumstances:

In 1860, Cedric Le Blanc, the great white Chantwell was invited to entertain a party at the Governor's residence. Possum heard of it and rashly decided to be present, though not invited, and certainly not wanted. The guards refused to admit him and smarting under the insult he went a little way off and sang the lament which still keeps his name alive:

Nom-la blâ pa ri nom-la blâ

Nom-la blâ pa ri nom-la blâ

Mè nèg-la vié, lèd é mové

Tut mun, tut mun pa èmè-i

Cedric le Blanc sé mèt mwê

Sèlmâ dé li coulè.

¹Danois probably means Virgin Islanders. A considerable number of slaves reached Trinidad from the Danish Virgin Isles early in the century. A "Régiment Danois" is reported as an early band or association, and the word had the connotation rowdy and *jamette* combined. Further research into the connection between the Virgin Isles and Trinidad would be useful in view of (1) tradition in the Virgin Islands connecting the Bamboula dance with slave insurrection and (2) the existence of the "Cariso" ballad in the Virgin Islands.

*(White man don't laugh at white man
But old nigger ugly and bad
All the world, all the world don't like him
Cedric Le Blanc is my master
Only through his colour).*

Thunderstone was a towering six-footer with a frightfully noisy voice and brawny arms. He was the Chantwell for a band of roughs known as the "Congo Jackos". They were the most feared desperadoes of that era and were regular items of the prison. While Thunderstone was serving a prison term, Surisima the Carib, poked fun at his reputed wife, Cariso Jane:

*"Cariso Jane u pa ka bèyè
Thunderstone dà la morumbé
Congo Jacko, Congo tàyé-u
Janey sé yò lababa"
Cariso Jane you doesn't bathe
Thunderstone in the gaol
Congo Jackos, Congos beating you,
Janey is everybody's plaything*

When Thunderstone came out, Cariso Jane deserted him for Surisima the Carib. He left the city crestfallen, a blackguard who had lost his voice, his bravery and his dear beloved. In 1947, Jo Jo, then his only living descendant said of him: "His was a wasted life".

According to the legends passed on by Surisima the Carib, a well-known Calypso singer of the mid-Nineteenth century, the word Cariso (by which term "Calypso" was known, prior to the 1890's) is descended from the Carib term "Carieto", meaning a joyous song. Surisima was famous also as a "folklorist" and raconteur. People would pay him to come to their homes and enlighten them on long forgotten events. He was a wayside historian, and wherever he spoke, people gathered. He recreated much of the old Carib tradition which is still remembered today. Carietos were used to heal the sick, to embolden the warrior and to seduce the fair. It is said that under the great Cacique Guamatumare, singers of Carieto were rewarded with special gifts of land, and that next to the tribal leaders they also owned the fairest ladies.

In the time of Guancangari, the two great singers were Dioarima, tall, powerful and extremely handsome, and Casaripo, an undersized weakling, whose voice was capable of arousing cowards, invigorating the jaded and placating the delirious. Dioarima had two beautiful daughters who were guarded day and night. One night a singer hid in the bushes, and sang a series of haunting songs which had the two girls uneasy. The following night they escaped from their guards, and met the singer in the woods. He took them to Conquerabia (now Port-of-Spain) and lived with them in regal splendour until he was killed in battle. Guandori, a great stick-man of the 1860's, was the last of their descendants. When the Spaniards heard of these miracle singers, whose voices spurred men on to battle even in the face of fearful odds, they used bribery and clever manipulation, and finally ambushed the two through the treachery of the Carib slave-woman Caziria. The singers were

subjected to unspeakable tortures and molten lead was poured down their throats.

With the death of Casaripo and Dioarima, the Carib forces rapidly disintegrated, and were eventually conquered by the Spaniards.

Surisima himself used to organise a procession of Carib descendants from the city of Port-of-Spain to the heights of El Chiquerro where a huge effigy of Caziria, the betrayer, was belaboured and burnt after drinking, feasting and singing obscene songs. The only song remembered is:

"Cazi, Cazi, Cazi, Caziria
Dende, dende, dende dariba".

Shiffer Brathwaite reported to me his father's assertion that when these people sang they actually felt the pain and sorrow experienced by the Caribs when Casaripo and Dioarima were betrayed, and sang with real hate and ran-cour towards Caziria and just as they finished singing that song they began to belabour the effigy, then burn it. On one occasion Surisima the Carib tried to carry on that ceremony in the city but police "ran" them, and they were all brought to court.

Thus, when the African slaves came here (Trinidad) they found a form of singing. They took up the local songs and of course they sang their own songs too. They introduced more pep, more vigour, more liveliness and more animation. Singing under extremes as a form of escape from conditions abhorrent to them, it is natural that they should carry a greater intensity into their singing. Consequently the negro enriched the calypso but did not originate it. In 1859, Mr. William Moore, an American ornithologist, came to Trinidad. He gave a lecture on birds and he had cause to make allusion to the Cariso, saying that many of the Carisos are localised versions of American and English ballads. When Surisima the Carib heard that he was annoyed. Two days later he went to Mr. Moore's hotel with a crowd of followers and he lampooned him viciously. The lampoon is preserved to this day. This is what he sung:

Surisima: Moore the monkey from America

Crowd: Tell me wha you know about we cariso

and they kept on singing like that creating a furore until the police intervened.

Hannibal, of whom Zandoli sung "Hannibal, mama u sé yô jal; mwê chanté la vèwité, Hannibal né dà la morumbé" (Hannibal, your mother is a prostitute, I am singing the truth, Hannibal was born in the jail), was the mulatto son of Soucoush Piwi and a negro carterman. Hannibal's bon mots were just as popular as his calypsoes. A dandified half caste, he made negroes the butt of ridicule in nearly all his compositions. Sometimes he sang ditties, sometimes he recited rhymes, but whatever he did interested the populace. His most widely quoted remark is still secretly repeated by many negro mothers to their daughters—"Black and black make pure devil—Black and white make half angel". His rhymes intensified the gulf which existed between black and brown skinned negroes.

"I aint black, I aint white
If it comes to blows or fight
I'll kill the black to save the white"

He continually recalled the misdeeds perpetrated in slavery by Dan the Mulatto (who was even more inhuman than some of the white masters).

"Dan is the devil, the devil is Dan
Brown nigger more bad than Bacra man
But black is the baddest
The baddest in the land.

What Dan did to Tasa
Mek whiteman vex
L'annais was bad, bad
Dan worse than all the res'

God you is a white man
I want to know de truth
Who but de Devil
Could mek these nigger brutes''.

This theme was not merely the peculiar view of Hannibal the Mulatto, but had a much wider currency. It was attacked by the leading Trinidad advocate, Mr. Maxwell Philip, a mulatto, who became Attorney General, when he called upon stickmen in the 1870's to stop singing a song which, in his opinion stygmatised the Negro race atrociously:

"Djab sé yô neg
Mê Dié sé nom-la blâ
Bamboula, Bamboula
Bamboula, Bamboula

The Devil is a Negro
But God is a white man
Bamboula, Bamboula
Bamboula, Bamboula."

A certain element co-operated but the majority of the leading stickmen refused on the ground that whenever they sang "Djab sé yô nèg" they were infused with a satanic spirit which actually made them immune to pain; they could walk right in to battle, and meet sticks, stones, conch shells and even daggers as it were anaesthetized. They came to feel that since God is a white man and the devil is a negro every negro has that devilish ferocious quality in him, and it whipped them up. When Rocou John fought the invincible Tiny Satan at Laku Pêbwa (Bread-fruit-tree Yard) in 1875 Tiny Satan caught him six consecutive blows and smashed his skull in completely, yet still Roucou John stood up. When he fell finally to the ground shortly before he died he was still mumbling incoherently "Djab sé yô neg, Dié nom-la blâ, Bamboula."

One of Lord Hannibal's most famous songs, which was a Road March and Kalenda (stickfighting) song during the Canboulay era (1870-90) was on

²Bamboula. The words of this song were earlier associated with the Bamboula dance, which is supposed to have originated in Trinidad during slave days. At certain stages in the dance the dancers stamped, went prostrate and beat the ground, a gesture which was symbolic of the final victory when the negro would eventually be able to be the tormentor and not the tormented.

Piti Belle Lily. The melody of this song has emerged intermittently many times since that, its most recent appearance being as "Ram-goat baptism" a few years ago.

Piti Belle Lily
Piti Belle Lily
Lom Kamisol³
Lom sâ kamisol
Tut mun kasé bambirol

Piti Belle Lily jen fi du
Piti Belle Lily sé yô fu
Piti Belle Lily maliwé
Su la jâm-li mété difé

Piti Belle Lily
Piti Belle Lily
Jacket man
Man without jacket
All are making free with her

Piti Belle Lily sweet young girl
Piti Belle Lily she's crazy
Piti Belle Lily she's unfortunate
They put fire to her legs.

Piti Belle Lily became so notorious, in spite of her great beauty, that even Congo Jack, a grave digger and police spy who was ostracised by the jayette world itself, aspired to win her. Hannibal was jealous, and angry that she had fallen so low, and attacked her in this song. The incident referred to in the last line occurred on a Canboulay night. Piti Belle Lily was assaulted by Congo Jack, who threw some inflammable liquid on her dress and attempted to set her ablaze. Of course this was great sport for the roughs of the Canboulay era and they laughed and pranced about while she was surrounded by flames, until Pappy Mammy put out the flames. Pappy Mammy was the most notorious invert of those days, hence his queer appellation.

One of the most famous incidents of the Nineteenth Century was the murder of Abbé Jouin, in Diego Martin. N. B., a planter, was placed on trial and acquitted, the simple folk attributing his escape to the efficient obeah of the notorious Djab Papa, who during the trial stood outside the Courthouse looking up at the sun. Hannibal and his two contemporaries Zandoli and Cedric Le Blanc both sang on the incident, and all of them concentrated their venom on Djab Papa.

³Jacket-man or Lom Kamisol was a name applied to persons of superior class who patronised the underworld heroes, playing stick with them but their coats on to differentiate themselves.

Hannibal :

Lalin cuwi ju bawé-i
Maldisé su la tèt Djab Papa-la
The moon is running, but day catches it
Curses on Djab Papa's head

Zandoli :

Djab Papa sé yò silira
Djab Papa, ami dé Lucifer
Djab Papa sé gâyé libètè
Dé nom-la ki tchué labé
Djab Papa is a criminal
Djab Papa a friend of Lucifer
Djab Papa won liberty
For the man who killed the priest

Cedric Le Blanc :

The sun, the trees, all nature cried
The day when Abbe Jouin died;
Ah, what a brutal death!
In a thousand years we'll never forget
It was Djab Papa, the villain who save the murderer!

Hannibal died in gaol. While in extremis he kept on singing his patois calypso, "Lalin cuwi ju bawé-i". Terrible visions menaced him before he died. He kept on shouting that a man armed with a gun was threatening to shoot. His last words were: "Zandoli, why you ain't find your hole?"

His death (in 1873) was just as stormy as his life. Annie Coals and Myrtle the Turtle fought over his grave. While the wake was in progress a terrible skirmish ensued between rival gangs. Exactly 7 days after his burial, ghouls dug up the coffin, carried away his head and shroud, leaving the rotten carcass at the side of the grave. When news of the incident went out, curious crowds flocked to the cemetery. Bodicea, the female Chantwell accused Congo Jack of disinterring the corpse. Others felt it was a notorious obeah man who instigated it. Accusations and more heated counter accusations were exchanged at the graveside. While ruffians cursed and harlots giggled, Bodicea composed an impromptu ditty.

Congo Jack volé tèt-la Hannibal
U volé la mò, gadé bakanal
(Congo Jack steal Hannibal's head
You steal from the dead, look, bacchanal)

The calypso appealed to the crowd and they began to gyrate in the cemetery. Bodicea's shrill voice whipped them into unrestrained hilarity. The police came in and demanded the rogues to leave. The mirth-maddened carousers refused. Bodicea tore off her dress and waved it as a banner, still

singing the captivating ditty. More policemen came in. They arrested Bodicea and five of her entourage. The others escaped. Their reprehensible conduct is recorded in Cedric Le Blanc's deathless lines:

"It was shocking, it was shameful and bad to see
Carnival in the cemetery
It couldn't happen in Grenada
St. Kitts, Martinique or Antigua
When such lawlessness can prevail
Tell me what's the use of the Royal gaol.

Bodicea the jamette who we all know
Is a real disgrace to we Cariso
I really can't understand
Why she did'nt take the training of the Englishman
Roaming all about the vicinity
Cat and dog passing they mouth on she
Is better she die or lock up in jail
She disgrace every woman in Port-of-Spain".

At one stage of her life Bodicea became so notorious that any little city girl showing wayward traits was told by her parents—"You playing Bodicea". She had a beautiful voice, a masculine face and was a wizard at extemporaneous verses. Her life was devoted to three things—singing, drinking and fighting. Her clash with the equally notorious Alice Sugar lasted a full hour and they ended up completely battered. They fought like animals over a celebrated stickman, Cutaway Rimbeau. His stick was known as "Man Tamer" and after the fracas he handed it to Bodicea as a token of her victory. Women were not her only victims. Enraged when Rimbeau got enamoured with Piti Belle Lily (Alice Sugar's younger sister) Bodicea mauled him into cringing submission with his own poui. (hardwood stave)

When her English sponsor (one Mr. T.) left Trinidad, she sank to the lowest depths. Infirmity and calamity conspired to make her twilight a living hell. She crawled along the city streets infested with sores—a ragged mendicant, pitied by a few, molested and scorned by the majority. When blindness set in, her ravaged features, shrunken beyond recognition, bore no resemblance to the once feared termagant. She died in the "Hangman's Cemetery" while sitting on the spot where her executed lover was buried some years before.

Her demise failed to silence her vulgarly vocal rivals. Rumour ran riot with fanciful conjectures. Fabrications which staggered credulity were born overnight. Bodicea suddenly became the devil's disciple. Zeemau, the street crier, ran out of his room at midnight screaming "Murder, murder, Bodicea come wid a knife to kill me". Zandoli gave a similar performance a week later, but in more sensational fashion. He ran from his den, 1 Rue Trois Chandelles (now Duncan Street) until he reached the Police Station panting and perspiring. Crazed with superstitious fear he complained of Bodicea's ghost beating him with a thick piece of chain. A wastrel with a phenomenally nimble imagination heard a bird chirping merrily. The next day he told how Bodicea's spirit sang on top a mango tree surrounded by flames of fire.

The death of Petite Belle Lily plummeted the Bodicea ghost vogue into obscurity. Cedric Le Blanc, the great white Chantwell reviled them in a number reeking with sarcasm and ending with the cruel chorus:

'Bodicea first and then Petite Belle
The devil waiting for them in hell''.

After Cedric Le Blanc sailed for Martinique, Zandoli shifted from Chantwell to Shouter. "This is Zandoli bringing God's word to all!" became his religious catchword and he caught many a drifting sinner in his net. The case of the calypsonian turned theologian fascinated city folks and they turned out in large crowds to hear him. His zeal as a reformer was limitless. He cited the tragic end of Hannibal and Bodicea to his listeners, urging them not to deviate from the path of rectitude. He saved many sinners and much cash. He died in peace, a comparatively wealthy respected man.

The Midnight Robbers

DANIEL J. CROWLEY

AMONG the many improbable experiences of Carnival, the unwary spectator can expect to be accosted by a Midnight Robber. Like most other Trinidad traditions, this popular masque varies widely in form so as to accommodate individual tastes and talents. Its essentials include a whistle to attract the victim's attention, a costume of baggy pants, embroidered shirt, long cape, and huge brimmed hat, a gun or dagger with which to menace the victim and a sack to hold the swag, which is Carnival "pounds" or pennies. As if this were not awe-inspiring enough, the victim is threatened in a long and elaborate speech full of horrendous phrases to "give up your hidden treasures," and "chose what death you will like to die." The effect is only slightly marred if the "ferocious hoodlum, great wit, intolerable ass, genius, tramp, and notorious bandit" is a 9-year old schoolboy, or if this gruesome recital is given with the speed and diction of a tobacco auctioneer. Furthermore many a case-hardened non-masker admits to paying up quickly and never staying long enough to hear a speech through, so bizarre is its effect coming from the masked figure.

This study is based on material gathered immediately before and during the Carnival of 1954, and limited to the environs of Port-of-Spain from Carenage to the Santa Cruz Valley. Altogether thirty-nine texts by eleven Robbers were recorded and transcribed. One particularly notorious desperado contributed nine speeches, over a half hour of recording. Since a considered estimate suggests that not more than sixty men and boys played this mask in this area this year, it is hoped that those we recorded are an adequate sample. However, in folklore as in other research, the titan of them all may have eluded us. If so, we would welcome his or any other Robber speeches, for future consideration.

The fountainhead of a popular tradition can only very rarely be discovered. Evidently thirty or forty years ago people played Robber dressed in costumes meant to resemble the theatrical versions of American cowboy clothes. These costumes were of two kinds, "Blanket Robbers" and "Bag Robbers." The first wore trousers made from brightly-patterned cotton blankets, possibly of the type called "Indian blankets", made in Eastern United States mills but patterned vaguely on American Indian weavings. With these pants the Robber wore a "pretty" shirt, either red or green, and a big straw hat with a wide brim. The "Bag Robber" is much more frequently mentioned as the original type today; his pants are made out of hemp cocoa sacking that has been cut in strips and sewn on an old pair of trousers. The hemp is then frayed out so that the surface of the trousers is completely covered with a thick mat resembling chenille. The whole garment is then dyed, usually black, and with a little oil added to give a shine, and a little

"coal salt" to make it less inflammable. One masker described the effect as similar to the "bearskin" hats of the British palace guard. Bag pants were probably originally inspired by cowboy "chaps" (from Spanish "chaparajos"), broad leather or sheepskin overalls without a seat, worn to protect the legs of a horseman herding cattle. So it seems that the early forms of Robber costumes were based on cowboys. A probable source of information on cowboys was the pulp or "Texas" magazines, in England called "penny dreadfuls." These magazines, whether of British or U.S. origin, had and still have a wide circulation, and are devoted to action tales of heroic cowboys in an "old West" that never was. There are usually a few flashy illustrations of cowboys in colorful costumes, and a slick-paper cover illustration. Moving pictures also have dealt extensively with cowboys and desperadoes in riding clothes, and the Trinidadian's fondness for his "matinee" is proverbial.

But mere authenticity is not enough. Any plodder can be authentic. A great masque, like any other art form, must have the additional fillip that makes it a thing apart. From the basic idea of a masked cowboy who holds up spectators and is paid off in "pounds", the Trinidadians have developed numerous variations. A few of the most spectacular or ingenious are: Hunting Robbers, dressed in ragged woodsman clothes, who "come from the bush and t'ief animals"; White Robbers who reverse the traditional black costume with white sheepskin trousers, huge white hats, and such accessories as white skulls, keys, and coffins to hold the treasure; The Cheaty Gang¹ in black costumes with white crosses on chest and back like Crusaders, a chain running between the legs, and "bombs and torpedoes" as accessories. This last type has evidently evolved somewhat: The "Sons of Ben Bow T T Gang" came out in 1954 in faintly Elizabethan dress, purple-and-gray striped satin doublets heavily worked with "honeycombing" and silver beading, black satin culottes and cape or "gowng", large hats with fringed brims and towering crowns of black velvet and satin geometrical forms held together with silver wires and beadwork, and the ensemble completed by black velvet overshoes on which curled realistically wired black velvet cobras. One costume of this band was lent by the masker and exhibited in the Carnival Show at the Royal Victoria Institute Museum, where its elegance and fine detail could be appreciated better than in the excitement of Carnival.

There are a great many costumes variations, suggested by the names of famous bands, past and present, the Black, White, and Viking Legions, the Mystery, Midnight, Highway, or Railroad Raiders, or the Midnight Toilers. The names of individual Robbers is also enlightening, the cowboys represented by One Shot Burke, Tombstone, Two-Gun Langford, or the only woman Robber, Belle Starr. Desperadoes and even modern public enemies provide names like Machine Gun Kelly, Baby Face Nelson, or even Two-Gun Crowley (no kin of the author). From other sources there are Bergerac, from the Rostand play and Jose Ferrer movie, Ben Bow the brave but impolitic British Admiral in

¹This is a possible source for Sheps "Cheaty Council" band of 1953, although the multi-levelled nature of Anglo Saxon puns and plays on words must be recognized.

the 5th Standard West Indian Reader,² the Black Prince of English history, and imaginary royalty like King Agag, King Korak, Prince Alfonso, Rollo de Ganja and Zukumah. Boola Zoolus, Turban Kelly, and The Grabbeling Ghost are more obscure.

The mechanics of name selection were explained by Tucson Wayo. Tucson Smith was the hero of a Western film. Cetewayo was "a French or a Egyptian, I forget," and the two names were combined. The Arizona city of Tucson is pronounced "Tóo-sahn" by Americans, but in Trinidad its pronunciation resembles that great and common West Indian name, "Toussaint." It is easy to see how the personality of Cetewayo, the fierce South African chieftain, would seem appropriate to a Robber, even if its exact source was forgotten. The same process was responsible for the famous Robber Pizarro Selkirk Pattergonia," derived from the Conquistador of Peru, the original Robinson Crusoe, and the desolate area in southern South America. It must be understood that a masker will use his Robber name over a period of many years, whether he plays Robber each year or not. His costume will vary each year he plays Robber, but within limits he sets for himself, such as always wearing overshoes in the form of a wild animal, or always carrying a child's coffin. It follows that a man becomes known for playing Robber, and after he is no longer active as a masker, he will create speeches, teach them to interested boys or men, design costumes, and bring out the band he has made famous.

This clustering of maskers around famous Robbers of the past helps explain the present status of the Robber masque. In the past there were bands of 30 and 40, and there were more bands than at present. Nowadays a band nearly always numbers between 3 and 15, the average around 6 or 7 members. This fragmentation of larger organizations into smaller, based on the appeal of a strong personality, is observable in other aspects of Trinidadian life. Because of the reduction in the number and size of bands, it is assumed by many that the Robber masque is going the way of the Sebucan, the Burraquite and the Moko Jumby. But it seems to me that there are several factors that will keep the Robbers in the streets at Carnival. First, the theme and costume is spectacular and capable of extensive variation and development. Second, the speeches provide worthy opportunities for the ever-glib West Indians to show their sensitivity and skill with words and their delivery. Thirdly, and this is far less important than the first two, the masque can be nearly self-supporting. One prominent Robber made \$70 in 1953 during the two days of Carnival. Another made \$30-35 in 1954. These sums are almost certainly much larger than average, but one beautiful Robber costume I examined was made at home by the Robber and his mother and cost \$12. "Long time ago before Carnival was so improved, I studied to play mask for money, but now I play just for enjoyment." The satisfactions of playing masque are certainly not economic. But in a community where the largest number and the finest masques come from the yards of the labouring and artisan classes, financial support is virtually a prerequisite to Carnival participation. If this support comes from the masque itself, justice is served.

²J. O. Cutteridge, *Nelson's West Indian Readers*, Book V (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1950), p. 56 ff.

Contemporary Robber costumes, like the Son of Ben Bow described above, tend to vary considerably from the tradition. A "Historical Robber" with a large headpiece in the form of an East Indian "tadjah" or temple appeared in 1953. Bag pants have given way in large measure to loose satin or velvet "Turkish pants" caught around the ankle. The bag material is sometimes used on "skinfitt" tights, or for the gun holsters. These holsters, crisscrossed Sam Brown belts, and guns are made of expensive materials, leather, sheepskin, hard wood, or purchased from the shops. They are the only part of the Robber costume commonly used from year to year, except beads and rhinestones which are removed from old costumes and re-embroidered on new. Occasionally a Robber has made his name with a special object that he uses every year, such as a carved wooden pipe representing a hooded, ghostly figure, or a toy pair of binoculars. The growth of mechanical skills is reflected in the trend to electrification of the costume or hat. As in the mechanical headpieces of the Fancy Sailors, small light bulbs are used to decorate and illuminate the costume, or to serve as "eyes" for the cobras, spiders, "morocoy", alligators, and lizards that festoon the hat and shoes of the Robber.

But it was too nice! And I stand so in the road like that so, and the two alligator head moving so, but the light lighting, Yes? I use 2.5 you know, bulb, in each one of the eyes, I had them bulb Duco in red. So I put them in the eyes of the alligator, and my shoe, that was my shoe. I had the battery in a case, run the wires through my pants and inside the alligator. So we have two connection from the pants to the shoes, so I have little boys used to just join the wires for me, you understand, so when I stand up like that, you see whole head of the alligator moving like that. All in the hat had alligator and lights too. The chestplate is gold beads, you see. Very expensive now, you know. Well, I make a chestplate out of that—when that light, daylight you can't watch me, night time you can't watch me, but the light is for night time. It was a real proper thing!

For the folklorist the speeches which issue forth from these curious costumes are even more complex in derivation. An American expects a quasi-cowboy to say something like "Wa-al Podnuh, put her thar, haow you-all doin," &c., but soon discovers that while this talk is well known in Trinidad and called "talking Yonkee,"³ it has nothing to do with Robbers. Instead of sounding like cowboys, Robbers sound like schizophrenic patients recently escaped from St. Ann's. One describes how he "drew to my great Excalibur and took off his—a boa' constructor's—head." Another describes his greatness "at the great port of Treefalgar", while another tells of his escape "from the great jail of Alcatraz."

I then landed in Oklahoma. My name was then known to Scotland Yard. Plaçards of my photograph and fingerprints were posted in each business place . . . but that was not satisfactory for these Scotland Yards, for they then raised my reward to one thousand Pounds, with

³To call a Texan a Yankee is tantamount to calling a Scot an Englishman, or a Trinidadian a Barbadian.

men, women, and children looking for my disastrous soul in lakes, rivers, ponds, and pools. But when I, this dreaded monarch appeared in front of them, they shivered and dropped like dry leaves.

These delusions of grandeur and great villainy seem to have a form and delivery all their own. Sometimes in the midst of ranting, there will occur a rhymed line,

I was born on the desert shores, weaned on the
desert mores . . . (moors?)
Therefore I hold the keys
Of pretenders' destinies.

Or this complex structure of rhyme and repetitions,

Stop! Drop your keys and bow your knees,
and call me the Prince of Darkness, Criminal Master.
For if I gather my teeth and stamp my feet
it will cause a disaster. So bow your knees,
you infernal traitor, and call me your Master.

Sometimes each phrase is spoken separately on a sharply rising tone, similar to that used by calypsonians, and creating a strange metrical effect.

I have no compassion; In the time of execution;
Master of Masters; King of Kings, Man who can compel men and
women to die . . .

The late calypsonian Lord Executor adapted the Robber speech idiom to express his defiance at his blindness:

I follow the star of the unconquered will
which makes me inexorable and unbeaten still
As a burning diadem upon my breast
Invulnerable and calm and self-possessed
But today I cannot see at all
Much more to fight and charge me cannon ball

I pass by mountains and by the sea
And left behind me the monument of my integrity
My cannon ball has made a terrible destruction
On these ugly looking children. . .
So come and hear the story of me fatal misfortune
Sans humanité.

I had tamed the Bengal tiger of India
And marched in the sandy regions of the Sahara.
In the lion's den I made my demands
And manifested supremacy wherever I stand
But now I cannot see.
What a calamity holden upon me . . .

Or in a "picong" during a calypso "war":

When your paltry verses are done with your duncehead
I will have some fun. I will give you rocks to eat for bread
And you will be numbered among the dead.
Your body will be going down the road,
But your spirit will remain under my control
For when the deathbell toll my flag unfurl for rebellion . . .

Occasionally a Robber actually sings his speeches. Sometimes there are sound effects created by the very words chosen,

Away down from the vast eyeless regions of the lost centuries came I,
invincible, undaunted, impregnable . . .

More rarely, actual sound effects are incorporated into delivery of the speech,

When I cry (he sobs and rubs his eyes like a child), men, women,
whales, children, walruses, and other plague tremble in themselves, for
they know my final decision bring to them an endless corruption.

It may be noted that these quotations do not have any clear and specific meaning. Their function is not to inform or enlighten, but to inspire through the use of fine words well placed together. A parallel to this can be found in poetry, in some sermons, and in much campaign oratory. Where rhythmic and sound effects are stressed less, there tends to be more continuity to the ideas expressed. The following complete speech was spoken slowly, with an almost ministerial meticulousness, and in a hollow, sepulchral voice.

My name is Ben Bow. B-EN B-OW stand for Ben Bow. B stand for brave deeds that I have done. E, enter into my dungeon, my goodly man. N, nine days thou shall stay. B, before you shall be buried. O, O (woe) be unto you this day. W, when I clash my feet together the earth crumble, famine follow. Wherever I stand, grass never grows, sun never shine, far more for mankind to go. I, Ben Bow, take my right hand and bar the sun and made it night. I bite off bits of the moon to lengthen the days and shorten the season. I am the onliest monster who ever walked upon the surface of water, so mark me well, with those dark brown eyes of yours. There's no gun, dagger made of steel, can make me feel or heal. My motto today is to kill, plunder and slay. I have no sympathy upon human being. All the sympathy I have today is to bury you alive. When I was the age of three, my mother, she whisper to me, and said, "Son, what would you like to be your occupation?" I say, "Ma, take me to the dark and dismal jungle of Africa," where then I became a robber. I wheeze in the wasp, heal the lame, give the blind the sight, make the dumb speak, and then bury them six feet deep.

Upon examination of a number of speeches, a vague pattern emerges, the same phrases and subjects reoccur, but always in unexpected contexts or

re-arrangements. The Robber was usually "born in the deserts of Arabia," the child or grandchild of a famous person who has fallen on evil days, and who urged the child to revenge his name. The young Robber may go to the "dense jungles of Africa," where he speaks "in African" or the "snowy peaks of the Himalayas," or to Oklahoma, or to all three, killing, robbing banks, drinking blood, and gloating over his villainy. The jungles nearly always are equipped with "fishes who climb trees and snakes that fly." The escape from the Oklahoma jail is always a "perfect getaway" in the "annals of crime," and the radio is heard to be "Calling all cars! Calling all cars!" The robber often remarks that "my renown compound is too strong for human constitution," and in the Trinidad accent with its nasalization, "renown," "compound," and "strong" approach a rhyme. The Robber is not only poetic of speech, but rather unexpectedly courtly, following each sentence with "my goodly friend", or "my goodly man," and asking politely "what death you will like to die," after you "deliver up your hidden treasure." Man is also referred to as "mocking pretender" and "mook man," which "in my Robber language mean you too stupid."

The Robber is so awesome that even nature reflects his power.

For the day my mother give birth to me, the sun refuse to shine, and the wind ceased blowing. Many mothers that day give birth, but to deformed children. Plagues and pestilence pestered the cities, for atomic eruption raged in the mountains. Philosophers, scientists, professors said the world is come to an end, but no, it was me, a monarch, was born. Master of all I survey, and my right where none could dispute.

The concept of a pestilence that pestered is certainly as ingenious as the quote from Cowper⁴ referring to Alexander Selkirk's life as a castaway. It seems probable that the masker is familiar with the Cowper poem from his school days. Although Selkirk was castaway on Juan Fernandez Island in the Pacific, Defoe used a description of Tobago as a setting for "Robinson Crusoe," and Tobagonian and Trinidadian children are undoubtedly exposed to this material frequently. Other school book sources are recognizable. Compare the following Robber speech with "The Destruction of Port Royal" in the 5th Standard Reader.⁵

I heard frightful dins of cries, groans of invocation, mingled confused together. Mothers lost their sons and fathers their daughters. The darkness became so dark that nothing could be seen. But in the shadows which flashes every now and then from the soomit (summit) of the neighboring volcano, the earth crumbled. Houses shook and began to fall. The sea rolled back the land, as if terrified. And amidst was a awful and tremendous noise, a shower of stones fell upon the earth and blotted out everything forever. These are some of the inhabitants who died at the shock of my fearful catastrophe; guests in their banquet halls, maidens in their mirrors, brides in the chambers, police at their

⁴William Cowper, *Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk*, Stanza I.

⁵Cutteridge, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff.

posts, thieves at their chests. Some attempted flight, but to their own death and destruction by me. A couple days after, curious spectators from every part of the neighboring countries came to visit the scene, but can see nothing but a black, slopy plane, sloping down to the sea, covered thickly with ashes. And far down beneath, there are thousands who have laying asleep, a sleep which never could be awakened, with all their pomps, vanities, luxuries, buried with them. That was my destruction of Port Royal.

The mention of volcano and ashes suggest much more the eruption of Mount Pelee that destroyed St. Pierre, Martinique in 1902 than the earthquake that destroyed Port Royal. But the schoolbook essay is often mentioned by Robbers as a source of their ideas, and it has the same (though unintentional) relish for disaster that is the most notable feature of Robber speeches. The essay is often actually quoted word for word, especially the line, "And the harbour was covered with floating dead."⁶ The poem "The Burial of Sir John Moore"⁷ is also mentioned by Robbers as a source of ideas and phrases, but in the present collection no close correspondences were found.

The Bible, at least as familiar in West Indian homes as the school books, also provides many settings, phrases, and suitable expressions.

My father was King Grabla, who grab the sun, moon, stars, and rain, and create darkness upon the face of the whole earth, and this morn say as he standing there, say, "Let there be light, and there was light."

Only a bigot would find blasphemy in this use of words we associate with the Passion or with Genesis. The masker is expressing his recognition of the literary greatness of Scripture, and entirely separate in his mind from the religious content. The degree to which Biblical phraseology is known in the community is shown by the frequency of its inclusion in these speeches.

"Grandson, Grandson, wherefore art thou, are you on the sea or on the land, seeking the houses of consolation, and counting the bones of dying men, women, and children."

I said, "Cast me in a dark dungeon." I roam there for forty days and forty nights, until I reach that big bank⁸ of Sahara, I broke that big bank of Sahara, leaving 190 policemen wounded, 150 were die.

There are many other sources for words and phrases in these speeches, such as "a dog of a Saxon like you," which seems to have come from a historical film based on a Scott novel. Very often the source of such a recent phrase is not known by the Robber being recorded, because he has borrowed the phrase from another Robber's speech without having seen the original context. Sometimes a whole band will share all or some of their speeches. In this case, the speeches are made up by the King of the band, but based on

⁶Cutteridge, p. 18.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 98 ff.

⁸This is possibly a play on the word "bank," a repository of money and a hill or sand dune in a desert.

speeches he learned from a past King. "It's a composition, I just put words together." This masker's speeches were noticeably original and multifaceted, but he insisted that his best ideas came from the man who had taught him as a boy. He remembered a whole speech he had learned at the age of 9. "I cherishes that from Mr. C——." Thus Robber speeches are conceived by the maskers as a kind of heritage received from the past and passed on to the future. There is very little levity displayed in discussion of this aspect of Carnival. Maskers take themselves and the masques they play very seriously. There is no question in their minds of the importance of their esthetic activities, and the real achievement of obtaining recognition as a great masker from the critical Trinidad public.

The esthetic theory of popular artists and their audience is almost totally unknown. All too often it is stated that they have no theoretical concepts, or that they are not able to verbalize what they feel about their own art forms. That this is patent nonsense, in Trinidad at least, is shown by the following quotation from an interview with a Robber.

I does properly fix up, you know. I doing everything for meself. I fix the alligator—on his shoes and hat—and when you see it, you can't know was a mock thing. You will sure it something from the water, in truth. It was properly done!

But it your action, you know. Just because you playing a mask, and you ain't have the action, that ain't no use, you know. It my action that carry me through, the action I perform. It just like you can't say you playing a Robber and you just go and tell a man—softly—"Stop, my man." That is nothing. Walk a man. Say, "Stop!!! When I say Stop! I advise you to stop . . ."

To balance the in-group feeling of a band with the older maskers who have trained its members in speech making, in costume creation, and in "robbing," there is strong competition between bands. This takes the form of extensive and detailed criticism of costumes and speeches, either among the maskers themselves, or with the "well wishers" who associate themselves with the band. This criticism is conversational only, and does not take place on the Carnival days, but immediately afterwards. It seems to function similarly to a concour in an art class, combining both destructive and constructive criticism, and creating a psychological climate conducive to fresh creativity.

Although I have never witnessed tournaments of competitive Robber speeches occur during Carnival, just as with Pierrot Grenade, Red Indians, and a few other masques, these contests are known as "arguments" and consist of high sounding braggadocio mentioning great names and places.⁹

He'll ask me what deeds I have done to be this great criminal. He'll say, "Stop! who art thou, and from whence thou came?" And then I'll draw. I'll say, I'm Ben Bow . . .

⁹Mr. Andrew Carr described similar speeches as part of the Fancy Pierrot or "Pays Roi" masque, now extinct, in a talk at the Cellar Club, White Hall, Port-of-Spain, in March, 1954, or see below, p. 282. Another similar form occurs in the performances of the "Speech Bands" in the Tobago Carnival.

This masker found it impossible to record one side of an "argument" or to give a resumé of one.

I got to get the teasing, to hot my blood. I got to get the teasing, I can't without. You know where you'll hear that, the next time. I'll bring one of the boys who play mask with me, and he will argue and I will argue, and you'll get everything.

Just as in the quotation about action, on the previous page, the four-dimensional nature of the Carnival art form is recognized by the maskers.

Ultimately the importance of Robber speeches lies not in their sources or their esthetics, but in their individual creativity. The following complete speech is an example of a personal style, the subjects being substantially the same as those of speeches by other Robbers. The fresh theme of "my street of forgotten men" is from an old Tin Pan Alley song, and it sets the key for the delivery, which is quiet and somewhat ominous, like a crooner.

Have you ever heard of my street of forgotten men? Well back far away into the corner of a lonely city, way back into the ages, there's a street you might have heard or read about. That's my street of forgotten men. Upon this sinful earth, there are drifters and unhappy men like you, who once knew fame and honor, but today know nothing but shame and disgrace. I, Tucson Wayo, a bandit, son of a bandit, is the ruler of this desolate universe. And today I'm no longer robbing for the lust of wealth. But the tradition of my bandit ancestors must be carried out. As doctors fish into my father's body, looking for 97 bullets placed into him by policemen and civilian alike, these are the words he said to me in agony. He said, "My Son, I wanted revenge. Revenge those who have cause my death. Rob! Rob for the tradition of your bandit ancestors. Kill! Kill for every bullet placed into my body." And with these few words he died. And today with my most atrocious career, I have added no less than 576 murders to my father's death, in the most terrifying and agonizing way, to quench my burning desire. For wherever I go, whatever I do, men fear and respect my name.

The personality of the Robber is not always so somber. In some cases he even makes fun of himself.

For at the age of five, I, this dreaded monarch, was sent to school, but the schooling there was not drastic enough for me, for I was a downright dunce. But anything too mathematic was always a puzzle to my brains, but when it come to snatching children faces, ringing their ears, biting off piece of their nose, I, King Korak, was always on top.

At the age of two, I drowned my grandmother in a spoonful of water.

The two following texts illustrate the degree of variation possible on the specific theme of the uses the Robber intends to make of the parts of his victims body.

When I say treasures, I mean gold, diamonds, rubies, and pearls, for my father do not deal in silver. I will not take your body to give the crow, my goodly friend, if I got better use for it. Your skin shall be taken to make wealth for somebody else, somewhere else. Your flesh shall be given to the wild beast of the air. Your teeth shall be taken to make powder for my revolver, and your blood shall be taken to make wine to quench my dangerous mind.

Now be quick, and deliver the hidden treasure. For I am prepared to follow you to the end of the world, as the tiger follows his prey, and pierce my dagger into your heart. Your hair I will take to make my garments. Your eyes I will take to shine as light in my lavatory. Your teeth seems to be either ivory or gold; according to what it is, I will take it as my treasure. Your nostrils I would take to make my trumpet. Your ears I will take to make sound, to sound the cannon in India. Your brain I will take for my supper. Your backbone I will take to make gunpowder for my revolver. The rest of your bones and skull will be crushed into powder which will have the whole world in disaster. Your bowels will be hung in the air, for the crows to live by. And your blood will remain spilling on the street, for the beetle, ant, and jack spaniard to come every hour of the day to sip.

Such fanciful improvisation on limited themes could only be possible in a community with an unusually high level of verbal skills. Speeches, sermons, prayers, calypso, ordinary conversation, and even the muttering of old market women fulfils the qualifications of an art as "any embellishment of ordinary living that is achieved with competence and has describable form."¹⁰ This aspect of Trinidadian culture received grudging recognition as long as 70 years ago.

. . . . I continually had to check the disposition of my pupils in Trinidad to use long-winded words and high-flown phrases. Boys and young men spent hours pouring over dictionaries, simply to try and master the meanings of words which for length might be measured by the yard. They positively do not believe in the sweet simplicity of the Saxon tongue . . . ¹¹

Up to a point, a Carnival costume represents a fulfilment of one's needs and desires. Historical masques are "playing rich," military are brave and dashing, and without pushing a good idea too far, Robbers are evening up their score with a cruel and heartless world. This "dionysian" catharsis alone would justify the whole institution of Carnival to any psychologist, and ultimately to any government. But along with ridding man of his frustrations, it gives him a *raison d'être*, recognition from his peers, and a sense of accomplishment.

¹⁰Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Words* (New York: Knopf, 1949), p. 380.

¹¹J. H. Collens, *A Guide to Trinidad* (London: Elliot Stock, 1888, 2nd Edition), p. 38.

"Boy, you was looking oogly, Boy! (A young man complimenting a Robber on his appearance in a finely made papier-mache head-mask representing a skull).

I the fellow, the Robber, who play with the largest hat in the world. Traffic had was to stop. I make it in a house. I had to ask the people permission to get up and move the partition. I rent the room for that purpose. I make it out of wire and paper, and overcover it with velvet. Nice!

In the world of scholarship, the Robbers speeches have almost revolutionary implications. The rich folk life of a small, isolated society inevitably dies or suffers radical changes upon contact with "modern western" culture. This same modern western culture, for all its myriads of forms, has not shown any viable creative expression among its folk. But from what would seem to be the least likely place, a small and culturally fragmented island, there has emerged a folk life and a number of art forms without precedent. Taking as material and subject the tritest products of commercialism, movies, popular songs, pulp magazines (and old steel oil drums), new forms and kinds of expression have been created, and other forms extended and revitalized. Trinidad, even in such wild fantasies as Robber speeches, has shown what can be done.

The Dragon Band or Devil Band

BRUCE PROCOPE

THE Dragon Band or Devil Band as it was first known originated from the Jab Jab or Devil Mas'. It had its beginnings in 1906 when Patrick Jones assisted by Gilbert Scamaroni, and prompted by a sacred picture illustrating the exorcision of the devil from a sick person, decided to organise a band. This sacred picture was seen by Patrick Jones at a shop situated at what is now No. 65, Queen Street in the City of Port-of-Spain.

The colours of khaki and slate were chosen for the costume and to this day the band is referred to by old timers as the "Khaki or Slate" band. The band comprised 60 to 70 men and women most of whom wore a jab jab costume, an overall type close fitting merino suit with scalloped collar and a hood fitted with cow horns, rope tails and long socks. To this costume were attached flexible wings worn in the middle of the back and so constructed as to make a flapping motion when the person wearing the costume moved. The men carried long forks in their hands. The women wore scalloped satin dresses instead of overalls. Others who were called presidents wore the same costume made of satin and decorated with brass buttons, fringe, braid, spangles and gold cord. Both the presidents and other members wore small face masks. There was one central character called Lucifer who wore a crown and dressed in more ornate costume than the presidents. He was portrayed by Gilbert Scamaroni who used a large head mask imported from Germany which he purchased from Waterman Brothers, a firm of merchants whose store was on Frederick Street in the City of Port-of-Spain.

Between 1906 and 1909 the only significant changes in costume were that the ordinary members of the band began to wear cow tails held upright by wire instead of rope tails and added long pointed toe nails to their feet. In 1909 Patrick Jones together with Skeedo Philips and Valere organised a new band called the "Red Dragon Band"¹. It was during this year that Jones saw an illustrated copy of Dante's *Inferno* and got the idea of adding more characters from the retinue of hell. In 1910 Jones organised another band called Demonites and it was in this year that Beelzebub was introduced. His costume was similar to Lucifer's but he was enclosed in a cage and bound by nine chains.² In this year too the beast or dragon was introduced. It was a papier mâché model of a dragon and carried in the air on poles. In 1911

1. The "Red Dragon Band" is still in existence and got its name from the fact that red is the sole colour used in the costuming of the band. In 1909 the Red Dragon Band won the "Smith's Bros." prize, a sterling silver cup presented to the band adjudged to be the best band to parade that year.

2. This depiction might conceivably have been inspired by stories of the casting out of Satan from heaven to "The chains of darkness" or "Everlasting chains under darkness" and may also have provided the idea of chaining the beast.

Satan was introduced. His costume was similar to that of Lucifer and Beelzebub and he carried a book and a pen "to record sins". In this year too the Dragon or Beast³ was first portrayed by a man called Georgie.⁴ The costume of the beast was made of large fish scales and so constructed as to bristle or lie flat. Between those early days and the present time many changes have been made and much theory about the significance of the Dragon band has grown up.

By 1911 then the main features of the Dragon band were already established and they have persisted to the present day. What has happened with the passing of time is that many additional characters from the retinue of hell have been introduced and have achieved permanent status in the band as traditional characters. These characters do no more than portray one of many aspects of the Devil as for example "Gentleman Jim" who wears a tail coat carries a stick and portrays the devil in the form of a 'Man about town'. During the Carnival celebrations of 1956, an innovation appeared, that of the Dragon Band being burlesqued. One band's costumes were made of crocus bags and satin and in this band one of the imps wore three stripes on his arm in the manner of an army sergeant. This is reminiscent of how the Pierrot Grenade burlesqued his predecessor, the Pierrot.

It is interesting to note that while Patrick Jones introduced this type of mas' because of its novelty and its dramatic possibilities there is now a well established theory about dragon mas'. The theory is that the dragon band is an ambulatory depiction of Satan and his horde cast from Heaven. Theoretically he and his followers return to earth on the two days before the Lenten season commences in order during "the forty days and forty nights" to try the virtue of the faithful. It seems that though this theory is fairly wide-spread and well known, the persons who play this kind of mas' feel no reluctance in portraying the forces of evil and regard it merely as a means of enjoying themselves. Undoubtedly however, some individuals go through periods of great excitement preparing to play this type of mas' and seem to be completely absorbed during this period with thoughts of the two days of revelry to come.⁵

With the passing of time there seems to have come the need to bolster up the merits of this type of mas' with claims of authenticity. Many people claim to have seen books in which were recorded the characters to be portrayed in

3. Mr. Jones says that the Dragon or Beast was suggested to him by a picture of St. Mark and the beast which he saw at Laventille Church.

4. Another of our informants, Mr. William La Borde (alias Willie the Beast), also remembers Georgie. Georgie was the reigning beast from whom "Willie" captured the crown. The step that brought him victory was one which was shown to him in a dream. One night after practice at the tent of his band Willie went home to sleep. He dreamt that a man came to him dressed in a top hat and tail coat. The man suddenly turned into a "zandolie" (green lizard) and started to wriggle on the ground. "Willie" awoke, told his wife about the dream and immediately began to practise a step in imitation of the movements of the "zandolie". He perfected this dance and by it won the crown from Georgie.

5. The story in the former footnote gives some idea of the extent to which participants think of the mas' they are preparing to play.

a dragon band but enquiries have failed to unearth any such book and it may well be that the books referred to are illustrated books of a religious nature.⁶

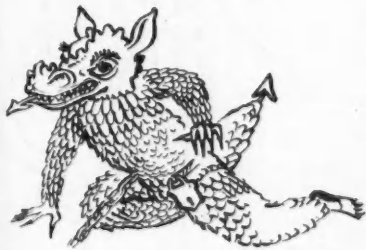
The organisation of dragon bands in former days followed the then prevailing pattern with each band having its "tent" or meeting place where the members of the band met and practised their 'pas' (dance steps), and its "chantwell" or leading singer to compose its songs. The band met regularly and practised, and questions touching the design of costume were settled by the organizers of the band. Each person was responsible for buying the material and having his costume made and the cost of the music was defrayed by contributions taken from the patrons of the band who were usually persons of means living in the district where the band had its tent. The members were usually friends of each other who had played mas' together for sometime and the persons who ran the band were the organisers.

Nowadays the membership of dragon bands varies. Some members have for a long time played mas' together, some are friends of such members, and others are persons who have come to know members through sport or some other activity. The band is managed by a group of about 5-10 persons who design the costumes and make arrangements for securing the material to make them.⁷ Each member is responsible for making his own costume and pays a cash subscription to cover the cost of the music and the food and drink which is supplied on the two carnival days to members of the band. Members of the band meet at least once a week at the house of one of the members, usually the place from which the band will "come out" on the carnival days.

Dragon bands consist of three sets of players:

Imps, Beasts, and Gownmen.

The beasts wear an overall type costume of scales (sometimes wool) with usually a movable tongue and tail, the head mask of a dragon, and a chain around their waists from which go three or four lengths in different directions. These chains are held by imps who by means of them control the progress of this character. The dance of the beast consists of a lunging movement, portraying attempts to strike surrounding imps who constantly goad him while their companions restrain his efforts by pulling on the chains. The number of beasts in any band is unlimited but usually there are not more than three, one of which is the chief beast.



6. One of our informants produced a book for which such a claim was made. It was *Hope of the Race* by Frank Loris Patterson and published by the Southern Publishing Co., Nashville, Tennessee.

7. The usual method is to secure a quantity of cloth of certain kinds by deposit of money at a store and give members written orders to the store. Only bearers of such orders may purchase the cloth secured. The cloth is thus paid for and uniformity of costume is ensured.



The imps wear face masks with horns, and tights with wings and tails. They carry in their hands an assortment of implements including axes, scrolls, horns, bells, dice, face cards and scales with weights. One of them is known as the King Imp or Tempter, and he carries either a bell or a face card and plays a prominent part in the dance of "crossing the water".

The imps dance a chipping step with a slight swaying movement of the hips, and prance, twirl, dart and skip about continuously.

The gown men are so called because they all wear as part of their costume a flowing cape on which is painted a biblical scene. They are the principal characters in the band. According to one informant, there are forty-two such characters, but there is no evidence to show either that that is the usual number or that the number is in any way limited by tradition or practice. However, the principal characters that will always be found are Lucifer, Satan, Gentleman Jim, Beelzebub, Bookman and if there are women playing in the band, a Queen Patroness and attendants.

The costume of the gownmen is designed from pictures and imagination, and usually consists of a tudor style pair of trousers or a flowing eastern type robe, a pleated or fluted bodice and a cape upon which is painted the scene of some biblical event. Gownmen wear head masks, some of which are locally made⁸ and others of older vintage which were originally imported from Germany. The head mask bears the expression of a gloating devil or devilish face, completely satanic in its appearance. Gentleman Jim usually wears a tail coat and carries a walking stick, while the Bookman has a large book and pen.

The dance of the gownmen is a waltzing step with frequent bowing to the crowd.



8. The local mask makers make mask in the following manner. First, a model of the mask is made from clay and sand. This is covered with two or three layers of fairly stiff brown paper each successive layer being plastered with glue, then layer upon layer of newspaper or other paper is put on in like manner. The covering of the clay model is done meticulously so that the paper follows the clay model closely. After several layers of paper are on the model it is left for some time until all the glue is dry. The paper is then cut in two so as to fall from the model in two halves. These halves are put together again and the seam formed where the two halves meet is covered on the inside with a strip of well glued thick brown paper. The process of paper covering is then continued until the outside seam is no longer in evidence. The mask is then left to dry, and after it is dried it is painted.

The music is provided by an orchestra comprised of trumpet, saxophones, bass and drums playing traditional carnival tunes, and the whole band proceeds along the street with the imps taunting the beasts and dancing away from their lunges with highly complicated and traditional steps, whilst other imps to the fore dance, twirl and skip, maintaining a constant activity and providing interesting contrast with the noble mien and stately bowing of the satanic characters which bring up the rear.

In former times there were two highlights in dragon mas', the fight of the beast and the ballet of crossing the water. Unfortunately these highlights no longer attract the same attention that they did due perhaps to the fact that the popularity of the dragon band has declined.

In the days when each band had its tent and its "chantwell" and members met each night to discuss the progress of costumes, listen to the "chantwell" and practise their steps, the fight of the beast was one of the main events of the carnival. There was a reigning beast a man so dexterous and inventive in his dancing and portrayal of the beast as to be acclaimed best. Each year aspirants for his crown would "challenge him to combat". The challenge to combat occurred automatically when the two bands met for the first time. The combat took the form of the execution by the reigning beast of various dance steps which the challenger had to imitate. If he succeeded in imitating them he then executed steps of his own for the reigning beast to imitate. The beast who first failed to imitate the other's steps lost the contest. To be the reigning beast was considered the highest honour and the practices before carnival were carried on with great concentration by those intending to portray beasts.⁹

The ballet of crossing the water which is variously known as "The coming out", "The invocation" and "Crossing the Water" takes place as the band is coming from the place where it has assembled on to the street to parade. In former days the drains were deeper and usually had water in them. First, the King Imp goes on to the road with the persons playing the music, then the other imps follow. Then comes the beast straining on its chains. As the beast approaches the drain the King Imp or "Tempter" goes towards him and rings a bell, shows him a "face" card or blows a horn, symbolically to stop him or make him fall into the drain. All the while the imps prance and show their "pas" and the play goes on with much taunting and many antics. The beast is goaded and provoked but finally allowed to cross the drain which he does with much fuss and a tremendous leap feigning fear lest any part of his body should go into the drain. After the beast has crossed the other characters come out on to the road, Lucifer last of all, and then the band may start to parade. This performance was sometimes repeated when a street drain was met and usually, in the old days, at the corner of Duke and Frederick Streets where a regular dragon band competition was held.

The theory behind this ballet is that being creatures of hell, the beast and all the members of the band are creatures of fire. The drain symbolises water or holy water. The consequences of being touched by water or holy water would be disastrous, and so the imps consistent with the mischief and devilry

9. See footnote 4.

of their characters tease the beast and give him a fright, somewhat in the manner of small boys making noise or trying to startle one of their number who is trying to keep his balance while walking across a narrow slippery ledge.

My informants have all informed me that they have no superstitions with regard to having bad luck or suffering misfortune as a result of playing dragon mas'. The only misgivings seem to be on the part of some of their relatives¹⁰ and the public generally who believe that to play dragon mas' is to fly in the face of God and that by so doing those who indulge will become subject to some form of curse or blight. There is no evidence that any such superstitions have deterred young people from playing dragon mas'.

The dragon band was up to the early and middle twenties of this century the most popular of all bands. Today its popularity is at low ebb. All the traditional and accustomed features of this type of mas' are either lost or in danger of being lost. The fight of the beasts, the different steps and antics of each character, and so on. Why this has happened is hard to know, but perhaps the rising cost of materials and therefore costuming¹¹ and the introduction of other types of mas' may have driven or lured many away from the dragon mas'. There is however some hope that the dragon mas' will survive because of the hard core of players for whom this is the only type of mask and who devotedly carry on the old traditions and try to win over their younger friends and relatives. It would indeed be a pity if this type of mas' with its peculiar portrayal, costuming and dancing should be lost to posterity.

10. One informant's wife forbade him to have in his band a person portraying an Ethiopian Madonna and child who would be pursued by the beast, on the ground that it was too near to a representation of the Virgin Mary and he would surely be punished for blasphemy.

11. When the Dragon mas' was first introduced (1906), the following was the cost of the costumes:

Ordinary Members	...	...	\$ 10.00
Presidents	...	...	\$ 20.00
Lucifer	...	...	\$ 65.00

Today's costs in approximate figures are:

Imps	...	...	\$ 35.00—\$ 45.00
Characters	...	...	\$150.00—\$500.00
Beast	...	...	\$ 60.00

Pierrot Grenade

ANDREW T. CARR

UNDOUBTEDLY the supreme jester in the Trinidad Carnival is the Pierrot Grenade. Although there are individual masqueraders who by their dress and paraphernalia present satire or burlesque on prominent local personalities, world figures or public affairs both local and foreign, introducing from subtle humour to frank comedy in the Carnival celebrations, the Pierrot Grenade by dress, manner, and discourse, embraces all those aspects, through the medium of his wide commentaries, and his irrepressible poking of fun at men and things. Moreover, he is a "scholar" who boasts of his "deep learning" and who delights in a display of his wide knowledge. The cream of this scholarship is the ability to spell any word, however long, in his own inimitable style. And apart from the delight in exercising imagination and ingenuity in the process of spelling, the Pierrot Grenade is being satirical of his richer and more learned brother, the Pierrot.

To understand the complete burlesque of his role, both in "scholarship" and dress, it is necessary to know the princely Pierrot which has not been seen for very many years, and which in all probability has become extinct. About fifty years ago, this was not only a handsome masquerader, but also a terrific fighter. He dressed in a gown of satin, which fell to the knees. The gown was completely covered with 3 inch alternating triangular pieces of satin sometimes in white or white and gold, and frequently in colours of red and mauve, or pink and mauve, each neatly worked around the edges and so placed as to overlap each other. The numerous triangles hung downwards in rows, and a small round bell called "glenglen" (glêglê) hung from each point. He wore a row of similar bells on the cuffs of his spacious sleeves. Around the base of the gown were more bells, a little larger in size and of deeper tones called "wooloes", and bells adorned the shoes, so that each slow stately step was made to the accompaniment of the rich, resonant, and varied jingling of bells. A red or green velvet breastpiece usually heart-shaped, bordered with swansdown and decorated with sequins, spangles, and tiny mirrors, adorned the front of his costume. He wore a loose beret of velvet, which amply concealed an iron pot turned down on the head for protection against the vicious blows of his adversary's short steel or lead-lined fighting whip. He wore a long narrow train of 12 to 18 feet made from long strips of satin of different colours, bordered and embroidered with gold braid, which was supported by a page, usually an uncostumed attendant. His shoes were light, sometimes of canvas with rubber soles, or alpagatas (woven twine top with leather soles) and decorated with swansdown and bells. His stockinged feet were often cross-gartered with coloured ribbons. When completely dressed in white or white and gold he carried the name of Baker, and when of varied colours Drama, as a title apparently descriptive of colour pattern.

An uncostumed squire carried his short fighting whip which he usually made himself from bull cord (bull pistle) cut into strands and plaited around

thin strips of lead or a rod of steel. The whip was waxed, tightly wound with twine, and again waxed. A longer whip for ceremonial strutting and speech making (speechifying) which he snapped as he walked along, completed his accoutrements. This was an imported whalebone driving or carriage whip about 8 feet in length, and popularly but erroneously called "a Hunter". In the early years of this century men have been known to save money the year round to meet the cost of \$70 to \$80 for this type of costume, the most expensive of those days. Several months of careful work went into the making of the elaborate costume, and the memorising of parts of English History dealing with great kings and their successful exploits in war, to form the basis of the Pierrot's highly boastful speeches of his own personal prowess either as prime character or lineal descendant. General history was studied in order to ask such questions of an adversary, or satisfactorily to answer those put by him. Some Pierrots have been known to recite also the orations from Shakespeare of such characters as Julius Caesar, Brutus, Mark Anthony, Othello, as well as excerpts from English classical literature.

At Carnival time (the two days preceding Ash Wednesday) the Pierrot roamed the streets of the City entertaining the crowds, but a dramatic change took place upon sighting another Pierrot. Like the stick-fighting gang of former years in their relation to a district, each Pierrot assumed overlordship of a territory consisting of a couple streets or more, and resented intrusion by another into his domain. One of them is still remembered for his opening speech: "I am the King of Dahomey, but I also rule over many countries that I have conquered. Do you now visit my dominions to offer your subjugation, or do you come as an enemy to dispute my rule?" The boastful speeches of victories and counter speeches came into play. Questions and counter questions were put. Unsatisfactory replies could easily arise in the circumstances, for rarely did they study the same things. Feelings could as easily run high, what with the pre-Carnival preparations for battle, and the encouragement of the crowd of men, women, and boys who by this time crammed the periphery of a large ring formed on the street. Pierrots were also always strong, sturdy adventurous men, and a fight was usually inevitable. In stentorian voice would come the challenging words "Do you wish to do battle with me". In the absence of a placating answer the fight was on. The long train, a thing of beauty in peace time, now wound around one arm to make a thick pad, became a formidable shield in war, and the patient work of months could be reduced to ribbons within a short space of time. "Heep Haw! I am the Conqueror", was the battle cry of a famous Pierrot, a sturdy descendant of Dahomean parentage. Fighting became so frequent and severe among these maskers that a law was passed in 1896¹ making it necessary for a special license to be

1. From records at the Registrar General's office, Port-of-Spain: *Trinidad Royal Gazette* 1868, pp. 38 and 40; under Ordinance No. 6 of 1868, Section 62, Sub-section 22, under the head of "Offences in streets and public places", control of the appearance of persons masked or otherwise disguised is exercised by the police. The first appearance of the following notice; "Persons wishing to appear disguised in the dress and character generally known under the name of 'Pierrots' must obtain permission from the Police" occurred in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* of January 16, 1896, p. 66.

obtained from the police, in order to play this type of mask, accompanied by a deposit of £5 against good behaviour. Frequently, the followers also of each Pierrot would enter the fray with sticks in a general free-for-all, aided and abetted by women armed with bottles and stones. Pressure, through numerous arrests and gaol sentences, finally resulted in the disappearance of this princely belligerent on the Carnival scene.

This character was undoubtedly a prince, and not a clown as the term Pierrot suggests. Far long before this period, and years after, a frequent costume at Carnival balls was the Pierrot and his Pierrette, a continental French clown and his lady. The male costume consisted of loose baggy trousers and long-sleeved jacket of light coloured material, sometimes with large balls of colour, 1 to 2 inches in diameter, printed upon it. The front of the coat was decorated with a row of pom-poms for buttons, pom-poms ran down the sides of the trousers, and a tall conical cap rounded at the top, carried a vertical set of pom-poms down the front. The cap was usually worn askew. The lady wore a similar cap and a dress of the same material decorated with pom-poms. Pom-poms adorned the shoes of the pair, and their role was to be gay and funny. It would seem, therefore, that the name "Pierrot" is incorrect, and must have arisen from uninformed writers who used this French spelling to approximate the local pronunciation of "Pay-wo", or "Pié-wo" which name is thought in some circles to have arisen from "Pays-roi"² country king, a character typical of the masquerader.

The Pierrot Grenade disparagingly referred to 40 to 50 years ago as "mokoto mas" implies by his name that he comes from the Island of Grenada, in the British West Indies, an island smaller and less rich than Trinidad. Instead of the resplendent satin, his gown is made from a few oats bags called crocus bags. In place of the fancy decorations and satin triangles, he sports on his gown, numerous strips of coloured cloth 10 to 12 inches long and odd bits of things, such as small cigarette boxes, biscuits, bits of tin; for bells he hangs on his gown small sardine and milk tins in which a few pebbles are placed to make a rattling sound. He sometimes wears an old hat of any kind adorned with a sprig of hibiscus or croton, or his head is tied with a large coloured handkerchief, over false hair made from unravelled rope. He has no head protection, save from the sun, as he seeks and expects no battles; he is out for fun himself, and expects to amuse others. Even today when some 95 per cent. of the participants in the Carnival wear no masks, he is devoted to his mask for the sake of anonymity, but also for the important motive of disguising the voice. Sometimes it is a wire mask which is cooler to wear, but more frequently it is a grotesque one, home-made on his own earth mould, shaped to amuse, and with such protruding mouth-piece as would give the voice a deep hollow sound. Below the gown he wears a vest and trousers, and sometimes over these items of male dress he dons a woman's petticoat dropping to the ankles

2. L. A. Dunn, in the *Evening News* (Trinidad), on February 26, 1952 opined that this masquerader was an English Pierrot as distinct from Pierrot Grenade, a Grenadian Pierrot. In the same paper of March 12, 1952, H. Neal Fahey, O.B.E., differed from Dunn in nomenclature. His submission was that Pays Roi, a Country King, was probably the original name, from which arose the popular names, Péiwo, Piéwo.

G. O. M. O'Reilly, q.c. (Barrister-at-Law), looks to the French for origin. His theory is based on the Pérégrin and his Pérégrinade, a wanderer or pilgrim who returned to tell of his travels and experiences.

and displaying workings of lace. Sometimes he carries a watch in his pocket attached to a long string, which he calls a "pocket engine". His boots were formerly of the heavy field type referred to as a "ground-masher", "sabot coolie" or "sabukara" (wait a bit) but latterly they have been much less weighty, consisting of normal everyday wear, or canvas shoes with rubber soles, called "wachekongs". He carries no deadly nor extravagant whip, but one, about 5 feet long, cut from some light vine in the woods, or taken from the sinewy branches of some nearby tree. Formerly, the quite harmless and succulent middle stem of the banana leaf was often used as a gesticulating whip. But during the period when stick fighting at Carnival was popular, this apparent innocent was not to be found wanting in participation. An attendant was usually at hand to pass "the poui"'s or fighting stick when the occasions arose.



Pierrot Grenade go about at least in pairs, and frequently they are three or four in number. Selection of a suitable spot for a discourse is based on the size of the crowd they can attract, and during the discourse they playact continuously, hopping about on the street in the spacious ring formed by bystanders, moving around, and threatening continuously with upraised whips to chastize each other. They call each other such names as Emile, Etienne, Magnus, but T'omas and William are the most popular.

The language of the Pierrot Grenade is Creole or French Patois, but it shows marked dialectical differences from the usual Patois spoken. It is a deliberate mixture of a Patois spoken with a broad accent and Creole-English, produced as a satirical and amusing version of his supposed country's dialect, mainly for the purpose of poking fun at his brother islander from Grenada and making it easier for the audience to understand. Formerly, when Patois was of more common use, there was less besprinkling of Creole-English. Nevertheless, the full force of the pleasantries, the badinage, and the "scholarship" is largely missed without an understanding of the dialect. No Shakespeare, nor English history for him, he is fond of discussing agricultural garden methods and crops and political, social and economic matters with spicy bits of satire. Formerly, he discussed the rudiments of English Grammar, however confusingly. His erudition is displayed in the spelling of words—the longer the better—when his imagination and inventiveness are given free rein. He is the rustic scholar who spells his words in a "picture-spelling by syllable" style, somewhat in the manner of a charade, or the game of guessing a word from a written or acted clue. The spelling takes the form of an usually lengthy, graphic and dramatic weaving of a story, the key words of which fit in with the syllables of the word being spelt, according to sound and regardless of dissimilar

3. Other fighting sticks were: anaré (a palm) and gasparee, a forest wood like Pouli.

meaning. Much of what he says and does arises from improvisations of the moment and therefore, he is seldom, repetitive. The less practised prepare some speeches but the veterans speak ad lib, and get their inspiration from audience re-action, and the dancing around is said to stimulate inventiveness. Thus, some people will follow them for hours on end in the certainty of enjoying freshly woven fun. Today, they roam the City everywhere, but in former times their principal area of activity was the French section of the town about the market area in such streets as Duncan and Nelson, Marine Square and lower Charlotte, Queen and Henry. They are the especial delight of older members of French-Creole families, who speak and understand Creole perfectly. Frequently these maskers are taken in motor cars to such homes for entertainment and to amuse old members of the family who are unable to go in search of them through the teeming crowds of Carnival.

Just as it necessitates an understanding of Patois to enjoy Pierrot Grenade so, too, it demands a versatility with the dialect to play the part. Although in a few sections of the Island, Patois is still preserved with some virility, as evidenced by a district agricultural credit society's meeting which was held in Maraval⁴ in April, 1956, entirely in Patois to facilitate full participation by the peasant farmers, Patois or Creole is on the decline, and is not now spoken as much as formerly. It is looked upon disparagingly by many as a linguistic influence deleterious to the speaking of standard English. Some people seem hesitant to admit that they can speak Patois, and an astonishingly large proportion of younger people cannot speak nor understand it. The average age of the people who "play" Pierrot Grenade appears to be over 50. In one team of four where the appearance of a lad is unusual, the respective ages are 68, 52, 50 and 16. Hence, through the dynamics of inevitable change, Pierrot Grenade as depicted today by a diminishing few seems destined to follow many former aspects of the Trinidad Carnival into oblivion.

Yet, in the Carnival celebrations of 1956 a new development appeared. A group of 50 young men and women organized a band of Pierrot Grenade and frolicked in the City under a large-sized significant banner bearing the title "Long Time Ol' Mas'—Pierrot Grenade." Only three or four of them knew Patois, and a male group of enthusiasts was willing to learn some patois with catch phrases and mannerisms, to give authenticity to the occasion. But difficulties of



4. A district in the northern hills about 4 miles North of Port-of-Spain; reports of meetings in *Port-of-Spain Gazette*, April 17, 1956, of the Paramin Agriculture Credit Society.

belated organisation and lack of time prevented the carrying out of this feature. Nevertheless, they enjoyed themselves thoroughly at quite a modest cost of 36 cents (1 shilling six pence) for costume consisting of three bags and \$2.00 each for steel-band music. This innovation of unmasked middle-class Pierrot Grenade was not allowed to go unchallenged. An old woman looking on at the Carnival thus accosted the band: "Eh! Eh! Gadé yo nô! Yo ka djwé Piéwo, épi yo passa palé Patwa". (Ah! Ah! Look at them, nuh! They are playing Pierrot, but they cannot speak Patois.) Happily, one of the Patois-speaking minority in the band overheard the remark and was able to save the day with a telling repartee: "U ka fè fas, mô shè; u passa palé Patwa épi mwè, piès." (You are making fun, my dear; you can never speak Patois like me). Moreover, they won a cup at the competitions for originality.

Some trend may appear to rescue the satirical jesting, badinage and "erudition" of Pierrot Grenade through the medium of Creole-English, but such an innovation may not long survive as it will not preserve by any manner of means the spicy and pithy witticisms which can be so successfully conveyed through the expressive medium of French Patois for Creole.

The following is a typical dialogue in Creole⁵ between two seasoned Pierrot Grenade masqueraders: Bill Mackenzie of 190, Lady Young Avenue, Morvant,⁶ Trinidad, and one of his partners, Edward Bayack of Caparo, a district in Central Trinidad, situated some thirty miles south-east of Port-of-Spain.

(Translation of Patois text)

Salutaciô

B.M.: Hu dédé-é-é-é! Hu d a d a!
Bôdié gwâ mè! Mwè Wilyam mwè
wivé. La Gwinad mwè lésé; La Gwinad
mwè Wilyam fè lidé mwè pu mwè viwé.
Tâ mwè Wilyam téka kité la Gwinad,
Mushé Mawisho⁷ di mwè: "Gasô, u ka
lan *Trinidad*, mwè kai ba-u yô komisiô
pu u lan *Trinidad*, pu u bai sé jâ
Gwinad la-é ba mwè: "Rispek an' obey,"

Salutation

B.M.: Hello there! Hello there! God
is the Great Master! I, William reach.
I come from Grenada and to Grenada I
make up my mind to return. When
I, William, was leaving Grenada,
Mr. Marryshow⁷ told me: "Boy, you are
going to land in Trinidad, I am giving
you a message when you land in Trini-
dad for you to give the Grenadian
people there for me: 'Respect and obey,'

5. The Creole or French-Patois, normally written as French, is here presented in a simple phonetic system to facilitate the widest possible circle of readers. Vowels have French values, and elisions with them are marked thus:—

è is "e" as in met

é is as "a" in mate

ò is as "au" in author

^ represents a nasalization of the vowel sound. Thus the French garçon becomes gasô.

The translation approximates Creole-English, which would more normally be the English used by the masqueraders, and which often finds expression among friends at all levels in the indigenous society. English or anglicised words are in italics.

6. According to Mr. McKenzie, this district used to be called Cimarônère Grand Bois—the high woods of Cimarônère—a well wooded district situated 2 miles east of Port-of-Spain.

7. The Honourable T. Albert Marryshow, elected member of the Grenada Legislature who in 1955 celebrated his 30th year of continuous service as a Legislator. Sometimes described as the Grand Old Man of British West Indian politics or the Elder Statesman.

Bôdié pini mwê gad, "tâ u viv *Trinidad*." Tâ mwê Wilyam téka kité La Gwinad, Mushé Mawisho di mwê: "Gasô, tâ u wivê *Trinidad*, u kai kôtwé dé ti bambé ki kai twafik asu sad-la; é tékai vlé stap u, mandé-u kwestian. Mê, ochen bambé kôtwé-u (mwê Wilyam), èvè i mandé-u kwestian, di yé u passé âba Mushé S. P. Sandaz, Barrista at La." Aba fasô sa-a mwê wivé; mwê kai chèché munôk mwê; mwê kai chèché pu tut bô konekshon mwê t'ni. Aba fasô sa-a ochen gwen kwitiê ki konet i t'ni *high* intelek, tâ i kontwé mwê, ba stap mwê u wê, pas fasô u wê mwê yé a, mwê kwê mwê paruz *Universal Spell-in' Book* èvè *Gran' Emancipation Bill*.⁸ Sé pu yé t'ni bon édikasiô. Fasô mwê Wilyam lan, fasô mwê Wilyam twuvé full libeti pu mwê lan asu sad-la. Tâ yé kôtwé mwê èvè yé kumásé diskos, si yé koné yé ba t'ni *high* intelek, ba stap mwê u wê. *Well done!* Tamas!

Vié Kozé

E.B.: *So good nâ so good.*

B.M.: *Good man!* Désan asu mwê gasô.

E.B.: A Bôdié o-o-o! Mwê tan u wi!

B.M.: U tan mwê? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: U tan sa mwê di? . . . U kwiyé mwê nâ tut.

B.M.: *Well done!* Wilyam! Mwê vlé-u di mwê ki pwogwé La Gwinad fê dépi u kité La Gwinad.

E.B.: Gwinad? Gwinad *stan' progress progressively* nâ tut, sa *help me* Gad. Tut piti kai ni nâ Békolet—tânik tapia¹⁰ kai—nété ni avâ, mê, sa *help me* Gad, apwézâ sé tri-stori *buildin'* nâ tut.

B.M.: Tri-stori *buildin'*? . . . Yes sa!

—(may God punish me)—'when you live in *Trinidad*.' " When I, William was leaving Grenada, Mr. Marryshow told me: "Boy, when you arrive in *Trinidad*, you will meet some inferior people working on its soil (sod) they will want to stop you to ask you questions. But any of these people (who) meet you (I William) and ask you questions, tell them you have passed under (trained by) Mr. S. P. Sanders, Barrister-at-Law. In this manner I reach; I am looking for my uncle; I am looking for all good connections I have here. In these circumstances, anybody⁸ who knows he has no high intellect, when he meets me he must not stop me, you see, because, the way I am here, I believe I have studied the *Universal Spelling Book* and the *Grand Emancipation Bill*.⁹ They must have good education. The circumstances under which I William land explains how I William have full liberty to land on the (sod) soil. When they meet me, and they commence to discourse, if they know they haven't high intellect, they must not stop me, you see. *Well done!* Thomas!

Gossip

E.B.: *So good and so good!* (Tit for tat).

B.M.: *Good man!* Come down on me, boy.

E.B.: Oh my God! I hear you, yes!

B.M.: You hear me? . . . Yes, Sir!

B.M.: You hear what I say? . . . You call (on) me, indeed.

B.M.: *Well done!* William! I want you to tell me what progress Grenada make since you leave Grenada.

E.B.: Grenada? Grenada is making progress progressively, indeed, so help me God. All the little houses in Bacolet—tapia¹⁰ houses as well—that were there before, so help me God, now they are three-story buildings in truth.

B.M.: Three-story building? Yes, sir!

8. Literally, "any grain of a Christian", viz. anybody from whatever walk of life, —any item of humanity. Such terms as "a grain of matches", and "a grain of hair" are of normal contemporary Creole-English usage.

9. Relative to the abolition of African slavery in the West Indies (1833-1838).

10. Walls of mud and straw, and wattle. Said to preserve a cool temperature within, and if well done, it is reputed to last for a considerable number of years.

B.M.: Mwé vlé-u di mwé, *excursion*-la ki téka kité Kayaku¹¹ téka môté Sê Djôi,¹² tut sé munla-é té abò batimâ-a, my Gad, lè yé alé?

E.B.: U oblié i *capsize*? . . .

B.M.: I *capsize*? U asiwé sa? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Nâ! I paka *capsize* . . . I *capsize* nâ tut!

B.M.: Mwé di-u, dépi lakai, mwé di-u gad manyè sa-a u ka mâti pu vini *Trinidad*. Pa mâti kô sa! . . . Ba kon mâti.

B.M.: Mwé di-u dépi lakai—mwé di-u zaffé mâti sa-a . . .! U ka mâti twop. Lè u vini *Trinidad* u paka mâti kô sa.

E.B.: Mwé wè sa â *black an' white*; nâ *black an' white* mwé wè sa.

B.M.: Gad nô! Stap! Kâ u tan mwé Wilyam ka diskos, pa pu u distrak mwé, u wè. Pas shôjé bié, tâ êxkôshan la té kité Kayaku èvè i téka môté Sôtè,¹³ yé té t'ni sé *ladies*-la pan tap, èvè sé *gentleman*-la té bilo. *Gentleman* té nâ kasèt, èvè *ladies* té nâ marino, Mushé Pakansn, Mushé Hèndricksn, Mushé Wilyamsn, Tamsn; tut sé munla-é té asu dekla. Tut sé fimel-la-é: Sé Dakas, Filozin, Enriet sésé Pakansn; tut sé mun sa-a té bilo. Kô sa . . . u di batimâ-a paté shaviwé? Tant *Betsy* té â *deck-house*-la, èvek shak tâ lalin-la kupé, wézipel-¹⁴ la i t'ni nâ gwo pié-i-la téka môté èvek *tide*-la, u wè.

Dispit

E.B.: Pa *mention* sa nâ tut. U ka pwâ *private business* madam-la u ka vini fè *market compulsion* nâ tut. Stap sa!

B.M.: Mwé wè-u . . .! . . . Stap dam *fastness* nâ tu!

B.M.: I want you tell me, the *excursion* that was leaving Carriacou¹¹ to go up to St. George's,¹² all the people that were on board the boat, my God, where they went.

E.B. You forget it *capsize*?

B.M.: It *capsize*? You sure of that? . . . Yes, Sir!

B.M.: No! It cannot *capsize*. . . It *capsize*, in truth!

B.M.: I tell you . . . since at home, I tell you to watch this way you have of lying when you come to *Trinidad*. Don't lie like that . . . I don't know how to lie.

B.M.: I tell you since at home . . . I tell you this business of lying! You lie too much. When you come to *Trinidad* you do not lie like that.

E.B.: I see that in black and white; in black and white I see it.

B.M.: Look nuh! Stop! When you hear me William discoursing, you must not distract me, you see. For remember well, when the *excursion* left Carriacou and it was going up to Sauteurs,¹³ they had the ladies on top and the gentlemen below. Gentlemen were in corset and ladies were in merino. Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Hendrickson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Thompson; all these people were on the deck. All the females: Dorcas' sister, Philosine, Henrietta, Parkinson's sister; all these people were below. So-o-o, you say the boat didn't *capsize*? Aunt Betsy was in the *deck-house*, and everytime the moon rise the *elephantiasis*¹⁴ she has in her big foot use to rise with the tide, you see.

Quarrel

E.B.: Don't mention that at all. You are taking the woman's *private business* to come and make public gossip, indeed. Stop that!

B.M.: I see you . . .! Stop you damn *fastness* altogether!

11. Carriacou—an island off Grenada, British West Indies, in the Windward Islands group.

12. St. George's—the capital city of Grenada.

13. Sauteurs—a northern coastal town in Grenada, and nearest port from Carriacou Island.

14. A form of Elephantiasis believed to be incurable, and which, it is sometimes believed, gets worse with the rising phases of the moon and the coming of the spring tides. Sometimes credited to black magic or obeah. One informant essayed that it comes late in life to a woman who "does not know life", viz. an old maid.

B.M.: Mwê òbservé ochen tà mwê kwiyé MÀ Idjen . . . !

E.B.: Shájé, se nen mwê u sav. . . .
I nen u? Ebê, gad nô . . . !

E.B.: Pa tech mwê lè u ka vini èvek sé kozé sa-a.

B.M.: Ba vlé di-u ayé pu bwilé ché-u, pas mwê konèt "chè bwilé nam dané;"¹⁵
. . . So good nà so good!

B.M.: . . . "bitasiò shu pa bitasiò pèmbwa;" "lalin kuwi, ju bawé;" "kat zié kòtwé, māti fini." Dépi lakai mwê ja di-u sa. Mwê di-u, lè u *Trinidad* èvek fasò komisiò Mawisho ba-u bai sé mun-la *Trinidad*, bai sé munla *Trinidad* komisiò-a, mè tà u vini isi pa di mǎshòl. Pas stodi bié *Caribbean* pu di *Caribbean*, èvek si ochen komisiò u pòté La Gwinad vini bai já *Trinidad*, yé kai kuté-u bié. Ek, si u konèt sa u ka di, ochen mǎshòl yé tékai konet. Sé paché mun-la-é ki *misbehave* èvè *instruction*-la u té poté-a . . . ! Sa u di?

E.B.: Mwê di-u mèm ba'ai-la mwê di-u àkò. Yé ka palé, mè u paka shòjé. U ànik ka stap asu yon *fashion*. Atásiò bié, lè mwê di-u sa sel sa Mawisho té di, shájé i di-u lè u vini *Trinidad* sé pu u *calculate*, sé pu u stap èvek wanda, é pa pu u vini èvek *fastness*, nà tut.

B.M.: Stap! Gad nô; Tà . . . tà u ka palé bà mwê, pa gadé mwê *full in de face*¹⁶ u tan. Sé pu u t'ni rispek pu mwê. Shòjé mwê étidié-u lékol.

E.B.: U *mean* . . . u *mean* kò yó *white season* nà *burying ground*?¹⁷ U ka vini èvek mem kwienad sa-a àkò?

15. A series of proverbial sayings.

16. "Looking full in the face", is regarded as a sign of disrespect to elders, and persons of superior social status. An African retention.

17. An allusion to ghosts in the burial ground, and consequently:

"Must I grow pale like seeing ghosts in the cemetery?" To fear one to such an extent.

B.M.: I notice every time I call (the name of) Madam Eugene . . . !

E.B.: Remember, this is my aunt, you know. . . . It is your aunt? Well, look nuh . . . !

E.B.: Don't touch me when you are coming with conversation like that.

B.M.: I don't want to tell you anything to burn your heart (to hurt your feelings), for I know that "an angry heart damns the soul."¹⁵ . . . So good and so good.

B.M.: "A tania plantation is not a breadfruit plantation"; "the moon runs, but the day catches it"; "four eyes meet, lying finish" (is at an end). Since at home I already tell you that. I tell you, when you are in *Trinidad* with a message that Mr. Marryshow has given you to give the people of *Trinidad*, give the people of *Trinidad* the message, but when you come here don't tell lies. For study (think) well, the *Caribbean* for the *Caribbean*, and if you bring any message from *Grenada* to give the people of *Trinidad*, they will listen to you well, and if you know what you are saying, any lies they will know. The set of people who misbehave because of the instruction you had brought . . . ! What you say?

E.B.: I am telling you the same thing I tell you again. You are talking, but you are not remembering. You are only stopping in one fashion (harping on the same thing). Pay attention well, when I tell you only what Marryshow had said, remember he told you when you come to *Trinidad* you must calculate, you must stop and wonder, and not come with all this fastness at all.

B.M.: Stop! Look nuh! When . . . when you are talking to me, don't look me full in the face,¹⁶ you hear. You must have respect for me. Remember I teach you at school.

E.B.: You mean . . . you mean like a white season in the burial ground?¹⁷ You are coming with this same foolishness again?

B.M.: None of you . . . ! Stap! Gad nô! Isi pa La Gwinad, u sav. Piti dis-pit-la nu ka t'ni La Gwinad, nu pa ôblijé vini dévwélé kité já *Trinidad* wê fasô *behaviour* nu lakai, u konèt. Nu â *different climatical condition* isi-a. Stodi biê, isi-a sé yô plas, my Gad, si u *mis-behave*, Bôdié pini mwê Gad, *police-man*-la pakai mâké pu pwâ-u, êvek tut já *Trinidad* kai kuté biê, êvek yé ka gadé-u, gadé fasô-u, gadé *behaviour*-u, gadé *conduc*'-u, êvek si u konet sa, si u ka palé ba mwê, sé pu u stodi kô-u biê sa u ka fê.

E.B.: Wilyam! . . . Well done!

E.B.: Gamla u ka palé-a, u kô si u pa please, u sav.

B.M.: Nô! Mwê pa . . . !

E.B.: U ka twamblé! U ka twamblé! Ki kalité *vibration* ka vini nâ kô-u?

B.M.: Ebê, gasô! Sé pa *vibration* nô! Tâ mwê fet, mwê fet nâ *sugar-apple season*,¹⁸ u wê. U wê, mwê fet nâ *sugar apple season*. Tâ mwê fet—mem tâ mwê fet, my Gad, *sugar-apple* té â *full swing*. Mushé Dakas ki ni "New Majesty," i pwâ fo' *boat-load* pom-kanel, zabuka ku butèi, èvè i mété abò batimâ-a. Tâ i pwâ *Gran' Bocas-la*, *Dragon an' Serpent's Mout*'-la¹⁹ tâ i wivé, as i wivé, *Harbour Master*-a mandé-i sa i t'ni la. I mandé-i pu *boat-note*-la. I pa t'ni *boat-note*-la. Sé tut bagai yo mété ovabod.

E.B.: U té pýé pasaj u, pu vini isit Twinite?

B.M.: Pa mandé mwê *question* sa-a â piblik, nô: Pa mandé mwê sa mwê di-u.

E.B.: Ebê, puchi u ka palé kont *sugar-apple*-la? Sé pa nâ *sugar-apple* u té *stow*'way.

B.M.: None of you . . . ! Stop! Look nuh! Here is not Grenada, you know. The little dispute we have in Grenada, we are not obliged to come and reveal it let Trinidad people see the manner of our behaviour at home, you know. We are in a different climatical condition here. Think well, here is a place, my God, if you misbehave—may God punish me—the policeman wouldn't fail to take you, and all Trinidad people will listen well, they will watch you, watch your ways, watch your behaviour, watch your conduct, and if you know this, if you are talking to me, you must study (think) well what you do.

E.B.: William! . . . Well done!

E.B.: The way you are talking, it looks as if you are not pleased, you know.

B.M.: No! I am not . . . !

E.B.: You are trembling! You are trembling! What kind of vibration is coming over your body?

B.M.: Well, boy! It is not vibration, nuh! When I was born, I was born in *sugar-apple season*,¹⁸ you see, You see, I was born in *sugar-apple season*. When I was born, the same time I was born, my God, *sugar-apple* was in full swing. Mr. Darkas, who own the *New Majesty*, he took four *boat-loads* of *sugar-apples*, bottle-neck zaboca (avocado) and he put (them) on board the vessel. When he entered the Grand Bocas, Dragon and Serpent's Mouths,¹⁹ as soon as he reach, the Harbour Master asked him what he had there. He asked him for the *boat-note*. He hadn't the *boat-note*. They throw everything overboard.

E.B.: You paid your passage to come here in Trinidad?

B.M.: Don't ask me that question in public, nuh. Don't ask me that I tell you.

E.B.: Well, why are you speaking about the *sugar-apple*? Isn't it in the *sugar-apple* that you stowed away?

18. The linking of trembling with the fact of being born in the *sugar-apple* season is fun, not folklore.

19. Entrances to the Gulf of Paria, Trinidad, B.W.I. The Gran Boca or Dragon's Mouth is the largest of the northern entrances, and the Serpents' Mouth is the southern channel. Both divide the island from the Venezuelan mainland. Merely playful exaggeration, as the vessel obviously could not use both channels in getting to the harbour of Port-of-Spain, the capital city.

B.M.: Nò! Mè u di mwè lè mwè ka palé mwè ka twamblé. Mwè di-u sé pa fasò mwè kò sa. Sé *sugar-apple season* mwè fet, èvek silò fakilti *ingenious mental ca'culation* mwè ka direc' mwè, si mwè fet àba season-a mwè oblijé ni met'od-la, u wè.

E.B.: Mwè mandé-u si u té péyé pasaj u vini Twinité?

B.M.: Ebé gasò, tan mwè bié. Mwè ni full atariti; mwè ni *passport* mwè; mwè ni *permit* mwè; mwè ni atariti.

E.B.: U mât! . . . *Harbour master*-a ba mwè full atariti.

E.B.: U mât! . . . I di mwè; "Gasò, tâ u lan, . . . tâ u . . . !

E.B.: Pa mäsôj! . . . tâ u lan *Trinidad*," . . . !

E.B.: Pa mäsôj! Pa mäsôj! . . . Ebé, di mwè sa u konet kont li.

E.B.: Kumâ? Sé pa na *boat sugar-apple*-la u té stow'way?

B.M.: U konet mwè stow'way?

E.B.: Sé pa mem ba'ai-la fè shalè *sugar-apple*-a la, . . . ki kupe tut shivé-u nâ tet u?²⁰ U ka palé sa akò?

B.M.: Hè-hè-hè! Gad nò!

E.B.: Ansi, pa mem *sugar-apple*-a la, tut dlo-a sink nâ tet u? Tut shivé-a kupé, u wè? Mi, stap! Stap! Pa fè mwè pwâ *private business* u pu fè *market compulsion* nâ tut, nò!

B.M.: U ka vini sho! . . . U ka show-off. Ba sho.

B.M.: Ebé, gad nò . . . ! . . .

Batai fasez

E.B.: Sa *help me* Gad, si mwè sho nâ tu . . . ! . . . èvek mwè pwâ wata-pressure²¹ sa-a!

B.M.: Gadé! Mwè gadé fasò u ka palé ba mwè, lev u ka bat u èk ô kalbas.²² Fasò lev u ka bat la, èvek sa u ka di mwè-a . . . !

E.B.: Pa wak op! Pa wak op!

B.M.: Si sé sho u sho . . . ! . . . Pa wak op!

B.M.: No! But you tell me when I am talking I am trembling. I tell you that is not my usual way. It is in sugar-apple season I was born, and according to the faculty of ingenious mental calculation which directs me, if I born under this season, I oblige to have that manner, you see.

E.B.: I ask you if you paid passage to come to Trinidad?

B.M.: Well boy, listen to me well. I have full authority; I have my passport: I have my permit; I have authority.

E.B.: You lie! . . . The Harbour Master give me full authority.

E.B.: You lie! . . . He told me "boy, when you land, . . . when you . . . !"

E.B.: Don't lie! . . . when you land in Trinidad, . . . !

E.B.: Don't lie! Don't lie! . . . Well, tell me what you know about it.

E.B.: How so? Was it not in the sugar-apple boat that you stowed away?

B.M.: You know I stowaway?

E.B.: Isn't that the same thing that make the heat of the sugar-apple cut all the hair off your head?²⁰ You talking about that again?

B.M.: Ha-ha-ha! Look nuh!

E.B.: Isn't it the same sugar-apple there, all the juice sink in your head? All the hair cut, you see? Stop! Stop! Don't make me take your private business to make public affair, nuh!

B.M.: You are getting hot! . . . You are showing-off. I am not hot.

B.M.: Well, look nuh!

Mock Battle

E.B.: So help me God, if I am hot at all, and I take this whip²¹ . . . !

B.M.: Look! I see the way you are talking to me, your lips are beating you like a calabash²² (gourd). The way your lips are beating there, and what you are telling me there . . . !

E.B.: Don't walk up. Don't walk up!

B.M.: If it is hot you hot . . . ! Don't walk up!

20. Badinage in which these masqueraders delight. Also called Picong.

21. "Water pressure": an idiom for a whip; a whipping to cool off one.

22. An allusion to drumming. Calabashes (gourds) are sometimes used as drums in surviving African ceremonies.

B.M.: . . . mwê kai fê-u twańk êvek
bul laglas â kò-u, u sav.

E.B.: Si u wak op, a Bòdié o! Pa
wak op, mwê di-u!

B.M.: Sa u ka shashé pa pu kò-u yon,
u sav. . . . Pa wak op!

B.M.: U wê . . . ! . . . Mwê kai
fwappé-u!

B.M.: Sa u ké fê?

E.B.: Mwê kai mété kòwòpsiò nâ
kò-u.

B.M.: Gad nô! Si mwê futé-u nâ tet
u, u kai twuvé kata,²³ u sav.

E.B.: Stap! Gad nô!

B.M.: Mwê kai futé-u lian luizan²⁴
sa-a â gwo zîé-u. Sa *help me* Gad, mwê
kai *dig out eye-bal-u*.

E.B.: U ka ba mwê ku, so *help me*
Gad, u ka ba mwê bô bagai.

B.M.: Mwê ka ba-u . . . !

E.B.: Mê, pa ba mwê ku lè mwê ka
pwâ mizi fê zâfâ, u sav. Pa ba mwê la.
Mê, si u ka ba mwê â tet mwê—ba t'ni
kata—mwê ka pwâ tut sa.

B.M.: Si â ka mwê kai ba-u, mwê
kai snob. Mwê kai ba-u nâ *backsto'*
mâjé-u. . . . Stap!

B.M.: *Backsto'* mâjé-u mwê kai ba-u,
u wê, pas u to fawad. Sé vwé, yo
di-u tâ u kité La Gwinad pu vini
Trinidad, sé pu u *deliver* ochen *kna'-*
ledge u tîni, mē pa pu sa sé pu u *full*
front êvek *straight-fawad* kô sa. Sé pu
u shôjé, mwê t'ni *full correspondance*
from Jamaica tâ mwê vini *Trinidad* pu
mwê dévwélé pu al *West Indian*. Echen
Gwinadié, my Gad, ki kité La Gwinad
èvé i *astray Trinidad*, sé pu yo "*Respec'*
an' Obey," pas yé t'ni yô *campaign*
apwézâ yé ka kwié *Medical Bod* . . . !
. . . . Koté sa yé?

B.M.: Yé ka kwié *Medical Bod*.

E.B.: U pôté sa lè u téka vini
Twinité?

B.M.: I will make you move about
with a ball of ice on your body, you
know (to cool you off).

E.B.: If you walk up, by God! Don't
walk up, I tell you.

B.M.: What you are looking for is not
for you alone, you know. . . . Don't
walk up!

B.M.: You see . . . ! . . . I will whip
you!

B.M.: What you will do?

E.B.: I will put correction on you.

B.M.: Look nuh! If I strike you in
your head, you will get catarrh,²³ you
know.

E.B.: Stop! Look nuh!

B.M.: I will beat you with this whip²⁴
in your big eyes. So help me God. I
will dig out your eye-ball.

E.B.: You will strike me, so help me
God, you will give me a good thing.

B.M.: I will give you . . . !

E.B.: But don't strike me where I
take measures to make children, you
know. Don't hit me there. But if you
are giving me (blows) in my head—I
have no catarrh—I' will take all that.

B.M.: If in case I am going to give
you, I will not chose. I will give you in
your food's backstore (the posterior).
. . . . Stop!

B.M.: In your food's backstore I will
give it to you, you see, because you are
too forward. It is true, they say when
you leave Grenada to come to Trinidad,
you have to deliver any knowledge you
have, but not for that you have to be
brazen and forward like that. You have
to remember, I have full correspondence
from Jamaica when I come to Trinidad
to explain to all West Indians. Any
Grenadians, my God, who leave Grenada
and are astray in Trinidad, they must
"*Respect and Obey*," for they have
(there is) a campaign now they call
Medical Board . . . ! . . . Where that is?

B.M.: They call it *Medical Board*.

E.B.: You bring that when you were
coming to Trinidad?

23. A reference to an old belief that if struck with a "mounted" stick, viz.—a stick treated under certain rites by an obeahman, or practitioner in black magic—one can become ill, and resistant to treatment.

24. A long pliable whip cut from a stout forest vine or liane. When it is "fixed" or "mounted" the liane becomes "luizon" or "luizan".

B.M.: Nò! Ni *Medical Bod* la, èvè, si à ka u *misbehave*, mwè ka voyé pu dakta-a, kité-i ba-u medikama, èvè voyé-u nà *Medical Bod*-la, u wè.

E.B.: U pòté *Medical Bod* épi-u Twinité?

B.M.: Mwè pòté-i abò batimá-a. Wi, mwè pòté-i.

E.B.: U té mété-i nà posh u?

B.M.: Mwè pòté-i; mwè pòté-i avec atariti-a !

E.B.: U mété-i asu tet u?

B.M.: Biyet-la mwè té t'ni, mwè té t'ni à pakit mwè; mwè pòté *full* atariti sa-a. Aba fasô sa-a, tâ u wè-u wivé *Trinidad*, sé pu u stodi kò-u kumà pu u *behave*, u wè.

E.B.: Mwè *misbehave* nà tut?

B.M.: Ebè, gad nò! Pu *forwardness* u ! . . . Mwè *misbehave*?

B.M.: Pu *forwardness* u . . . ! Mwè ka mandé-u, nà tut?

B.M.: U *misbehave*. . . . Asu ki fasô?

B.M.: U *assa't* mwè, u wè. . . . Mwè *assa't* u? . . . Wi!

E.B.: Ai Bódié O! Sa negiô ki . . . ki dam fas nà tut, wi!

B.M.: U ka di mwè dam fas?

E.B.: Mwè *assa't* u? Mè gasô . . . !

E.B.: Mwè *converse* èvè-u . . . !

B.M.: U *brass-face* wi! U *mean* pu di, tut *billy* . . . *billy-goat* . . . !

E.B.: Asu lalin kupé²⁵ sa-a, mwè ka pòté pichet mwè; mwè ka pwà wata-pressure sa-a, mwè ka pwà-u, dépi nà tet u, mwè ka fan u à *provision backstore*-u, u sav.

B.M.: Gad nò! U *mean* pu di u alé à La Gwinad; u kité La Gwinad; Tant *Betsy* ba-u yò *crate* *Zaboka* pu u kité La Gwinad èvè. I di-u, u kai van *zaboka*-a; benifis-la u kai chen li pu kò-u, èvè

B.M.: No! The Medical Board is there, and if in case you misbehave, I will send for the doctor, let him give you treatment, and send you in the Medical Board, you see.

E.B.: You bring Medical Board with you to Trinidad?

B.M.: I bring it on board the vessel. Yes, I bring it.

E.B.: You bring it in your pocket?

B.M.: I bring it; I bring it with the authority . . . !

E.B.: You bring it on your head?

B.M.: The billet I had, I had it in my pocket; I bring this full authority. In these circumstances, when you see you arrive in Trinidad, you have to study how you must behave, you see.

E.B.: I misbehave at all?

B.M.: Well, look nuh! For your forwardness . . . ! . . . I misbehave?

B.M.: For your forwardness ! . . . I am asking you, again?

B.M.: You misbehave In what manner?

B.M.: You assault me, you see. . . . I assault you? . . . Yes!

E.B.: Oh my God! This is a low negro that . . . that is damn fast, yes!

B.M.: You are saying I (am) damn fast?

E.B.: I assault you? . . . But, boy . . . !

E.B.: I converse with you . . . !

B.M.: You brass-face (bold) yes! You mean to say, every billy . . . billy goat . . . !

E.B.: At this moon-rise,²⁵ I am bringing my stick; I am taking this stick, I am taking you from you head, (and) I will split you open in your provision backstore, you know.

B.M.: Look nuh! You mean to say you go to Grenada; you leave Grenada; Aunt Betsy give you a crate of zaboca for you to leave Grenada with. She tell you, you will sell the zaboca; the profit you will keep for yourself, and the

25. Just as it is believed by the peasantry that planting with the rising moon brings better yields, and cutting wood for building purposes at that time is bad because of the presence of too much sap and the resultant non-resistance to insects, so the analogy is taken to mean that blows at this period will be more effective, and weals more pronounced.

capital-la yé kai pos li La Gwinad voyé bai. Mè, u *brass-face*. My Gad, mwè sé gwà fwè-u. U vini isit *Trinidad*; i ba-u pu *elevate* kò-u. U vini ésit, u kòtwé tut sé fam la-é, tut sé gial la-é. U pwà *vagibonyanship* asu kont u. Ba mem yò *line correspondence* mem in *connection* wid you *good conduc'* ba voyé La Gwinad ba yé.

E.B.: U . . . u . . . u konet sa? Evek Sé Jane di, "very well please" pu lè mwè voyé *news-la* bai. Tut piti pom kanel-la, èvek sé zaboka-a-la, é pembwa-a ki wida—sé pa asu sa i viv?

B.M.: I pa di sa! . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Yo di sé u ki vòlè-i . . . A Bòdié O!

B.M.: U mean! Tan mwè bié . . . !

E.B.: Si u ba mwè *news* avek *satisfaction* à *black* an' *white* mwè ka kompwan sa u ka di, nà tu.

B.M.: Tan mwè bié. "Bò kont fè bò zami." 26

E.B.: Ba konet tan, no! Atasiò! Shòjé mwè ni zòwèi bwa.

B.M.: U ni zòwèi bwa? . . . Lè u ka *converse*, *converse* bò.

B.M.: Ebè gasò, si sé zòwèi bwa u t'ni, mwè ka menè-u a Istan Foundry—a kitè yo métè-u yò *dynamite*, den.

E.B.: Stap! Evek u di u ni *Local Bod*? Sé pa *Local Bod* u t'ni? U pòtè sa nà posh u?

B.M.: Mwè pòtè-i. Mwè ni *Local Bod*. Mwè ni atariti *Local Bod*. Mwè ni *Medical Bod* . . . !

E.B.: Tut sot kalité *Bod* u t'ni?

B.M.: Mwè ni *Information Afis* pu pwà-u. Mwè ni *Probation Afis*. Mwè ni *Br'adcastin' House* pu uvè *br'adcast* tut wò *Trinidad* pu pwà-u tà u alé à ailfil-la, pas u kitè La Gwinad èvek *bad conduc'u*, èvek Mawisho voyé mwè pu tut Gwinadié ki ka *misbehave Trinidad*, pu chembé é pu yo *behave*, pas i tà asé pu tut Gwinad, tut *Trinidad*, tut Sé

capital you will send by post to her in Grenada. But, you brass-face. My God, I am your big brother. You come here to Trinidad; she give you (that) to elevate you. You come here, you meet all the women, all the girls. You take vagabondage unto yourself. Not even a line of correspondence even in connection with your good conduct have you sent them in Grenada.

E.B.: You . . . you . . . you know that? And Sister Jane say, "very well pleased" in the news I sent her. All the little sugar-apples, and the zaboca, and the breadfruit which withered, is it not on these that she (Sister Jane) is living (sustaining herself)?

B.M.: She didn't say so! . . . Yes, sir!

B.M.: They say it is you who steal it. . . . Oh my God!

B.M.: You mean! Listen to me well . . . !

E.B.: If you give me satisfactory news in black and white I can really understand what you are saying.

B.M.: Hear me well. "Good news make good friends." 26

E.B.: I cannot hear, nuh! Listen! Remember I have wooden ears (I am deaf).

B.M.: You have wooden ears? . . . When you are conversing, converse well.

B.M.: Well boy, if it's wooden ears you have, I am taking you to the Eastern Foundry and let them put a (stick of) dynamite (in them) then.

E.B.: Stop! And you say you have *Local Board*. It is not *Local Board* you have? You bring that in your pocket?

B.M.: I bring it. I have *Local Board*. I have the authority of the *Local Board*. I have *Medical Board* . . . !

E.B.: All different kinds of *Board* you have?

B.M.: I have *information Office* to take you (under arrest). I have *Probation Office*. I have *Broadcasting House* to open a broadcast all around *Trinidad* to take you when you go in the oilfield, because you leave Grenada with bad conduct, and Marryshow has sent me for all Grenadians who are misbehaving in *Trinidad*, to hold them for them to behave, for it is time enough for all

Vèsà, tut Sè Lisi, tut Domanik, tut *Union Islan*’,²⁷ tut Kanawa, tut Bekwé pu stodi kò yé. Sé pu yo stodi kò yé apwézà.

E.B.: Mwé vlé travel nâ Agas. Mwé vlé wè Misié Mawisho.

B.M.: U vlé wè-i? Sa u vlé èvè-i?

E.B.: U pa konet ki bô *gentleman* sa yé? Misié Mawisho yô *gentleman*. U pa konet sé *Queen* ki ka *reign* apwézà? U pa shôjé lè i tèka *Jamaica*, yo voyé kwié Misié Mawisho pu *visit Queen*-la nâ *Jamaica*. U pa kont sa? . . . Mwé konet sa.

E.B.: Èvè u ka di mwé sa mwé vlé èvè Misié Mawisho? U ni twop *diptong*²⁸ nâ kò-u; u ni twop *diptong*.

B.M.: Ebé gasò, *Trinidad* sé yô plas, pu u *psycho*, u wè. *Trinidad* pa kô La Gwinad. La Gwinad u ka palé *free*. U ka môté âho Mon Bakolet èvè u ka hélé pu tut mun tan, mè, *Trinidad* sé yô plas tâ u ka hélé sé pu u *careful*. Si u pa *careful* u ka twuvé mizè âho tut wézò u t’ni . . . Mè gasò, dépi lakai . . . !

E.B.: Kuma u ké twuvé wézò . . . ! Mwé ké mutwé-u!

E.B.: . . . si u pa t’ni wézò nâ kò-u?

B.M.: U *mean* pu di dépi lakai u té kuyò, u kuyò tuju? Sa ki fè-u, nô? . . . Mwé fet kô sa.

B.M.: U fet kô sa?

E.B.: Mwé fet kô sa. Shâjé bié, lè mwé fet lalin té â *eclipse*, kô sa, dépi yô *chil’* . . . ! . . . Ebé, gad nô!

E.B.: . . . dépi yô *chil’* fet nâ *eclipse*, i tut tâ kuyò.²⁹

B.M.: Ba vlé piès dispit èvè-u, u tan mwé? U tan sa mwé di-u? Ba vlé piès dispit èvè-u, pas mwé wè u sé yô gasò,

Grenada, all Trinidad, all St. Vincent, all St. Lucia, all Dominica, all Union Island,²⁷ all Cannouan Island, all Bequia Island, to study (think of improving) themselves. They have to study themselves now.

E.B.: I want to travel in August. I want to see Mr. Marryshow.

B.M.: You want to see him? What you want with him?

E.B.: You don’t know what a good gentleman he is? Mr. Marryshow is a gentleman. Do you know that it is a Queen who is reigning now? Don’t you remember when she was in Jamaica, they send to call Mr. Marryshow to visit the Queen in Jamaica? You don’t know that? . . . I know that.

E.B.: And you are asking me what I want with Mr. Marryshow. You have too much dip-tongue²⁸ in your skin; you have too much dip-tongue.

B.M.: Well boy, Trinidad is a place, you must have psychology, you see Trinidad is not like Grenada. In Grenada you speak freely. You climb atop Mt. Bacolet and you shout for everybody to hear, but, Trinidad is a place when you are shouting you must be careful. If you are not careful you can get into trouble beyond reason . . . But boy, since at home . . . !

E.B.: How will you get reason, . . . I will show you.

E.B.: . . . if you have no reason in you?

B.M.: You mean to say since at home you were stupid, you stupid still? What is the matter with you, nuh? . . . I was born so.

B.M.: You born so?

E.B.: I born so. Remember well, when I was born the moon was in eclipse, so, whenever a child . . . ! . . . Well, look nuh!

E.B.: Whenever a child is born in eclipse, it is always stupid.²⁹

B.M.: I do not want any dispute with you, you hear me? You hear what I tell you? I don’t want any dispute with

27. British West Indian islands in the Grenadines—between Grenada and St. Vincent.

28. Dip-tongue: officiousness, maliciousness, entering unbidden (dipping one’s tongue) into the conversation of others.

29. Not really believed to be so.

dépi lakai tut *trainin'*-la u t'ni, i kô si u pa t'ni kompwan. Ebê, avâ mwê sukuwap fwê-u, èvê mwê èvê-u ni ayê, Bôdié pini mwê Gad, mwê konnê sa mwê kai fê. Mwê kai êkwi yô *letter* oswê sa-a mem, mwê kai pos li abô batimâ Mushé Henry, èvê mwê kai voyé Labé kitê sé mun-la wê ki fasô *behaviour* u t'ni *Trinidad*. La junê jôdi sé yô madan age. Echen mun ki *critasize* u, èvê i di *conduc'* u pa bô â kai-la u sôti nâ piti péyi-a u sôti, Bôdié pini mwê gad, yé kai di-u sa. Tut lipep ka kuté *conduc'* u. U kô yô étwâjé vini isit *Trinidad*. Mwê, gwâ fwê-u, mwê vini èvêk dakument pu di-u, pu u di tut sé mun-la, tut sé lot mun-la-é nâ ailfil la-é, pu u *direc'* yé kumâ pu yé *behave*.

E.B.: La Gwinad ni ailfil nâ tut?

B.M.: La Gwinad pa t'ni ailfil.

E.B.: Pa *mention* kon ailfil.

B.M.: Ebê gasô, mwê kai di-u, risas La Gwinad *depen'* on *Trinidad* pu ailfil-la u t'ni, pas tut sé léba-a nu ni nâ ailfil-la sé Gwinadiê. Silô fakilti *ingenious mental calculation* nu ka *direc'* nu, *bread*-la *Trinidad* ka *spread* Grenada ka ênjai. U ki *senior brêda*—*junior brêda my Gad*, u vini, mwê kôtwê èvê-u, Mawisho voyé pu di-u pu di sé mun-la-é *behave*. U konet *what is behaviour?* Yé tat u dat â lékol Misié Talma Labé. Ba konê u ba konê. Mwê kôtwê èvê-u épi mwê ba-u komisiô-a . . . !

E.B.: Stap! Stap! Pli vié u vini pa plis u ka oblié?

B.M.: Ebê, gad nô! . . . U ka *tremble!*

B.M.: Ebê gasô, u wê *behaviour*-u, *behaviour*-u ba *surprise* mwê. Sa *help me Gad*, u ka . . . u ka allé mem kô piti *billy-goat* kâ māmâ-i . . . !
Stap! Stap!

B.M.: Mwê ni pu di-u mwê sho u wê. Nivèsèl mwê ka twamblé.

E.B.: Stap sa, mwê di-u!

B.M.: Gad nô! Mwê ké futé ku asu-u, u sav. . . . Stap!

you, for I see you are a 'boy, since at home all the training you have, it is as though you have no understanding. Well, before I flay your skin and I and you have something (misunderstanding), may God punish me, I know what I will do. I will write a letter this very night, I will post it on board Mr. Henry's vessel, and I will send it to Grenville to let the people there see what kind of behaviour you have in Trinidad. Today is a modern age. Anybody who criticise you, and say your conduct is not good in the house you come from in the little country you come from, may God punish me, they will tell you so. All the people are listening to your conduct. You are like a stranger coming here to Trinidad. I am your big brother, I come with a document to tell you, for you to tell all these people, all the other people in the oilfield for you to direct them how to behave.

E.B.: Grenada has oilfield at all?

B.M. Grenada has no oilfield.

E.B.: Don't mention about oilfield.

B.M.: Well boy, I will tell you, the resource of Grenada depend on Trinidad with the oilfield you have, for all the labour we have in the oilfield is Grenadian. As long as our faculty of ingenious mental calculation is directing us, the bread that Trinidad spreads, Grenada enjoys. You who are senior brother—junior brother, my God, you come, I meet you, Marryshow send to tell you to tell the people to behave. You know what is behaviour? They taught you that in Mr. Talma's school in Grenville. I don't know you don't know. I meet you and I give you the message . . . !

E.B.: Stop! Stop! The older you become not the more you forget?

B.M.: Well, look nuh! . . . You are trembling.

B.M.: Well boy, you see your behaviour, your behaviour does not surprise me. So help me God, you are . . . you are getting on like (a) little billy-goat when its mother . . . ! . . . Stop! Stop!

B.M.: I have to tell you I am hot, you see. All my insides are trembling.

E.B.: Stop that, I say!

B.M.: Look nuh! I will put some licks on you, you know. . . . Stop!

B.M.: Mwê kai nak u, u konet.

E.B.: Pa nak mwê. Pa nak mwê.
Atâsiô koté u ka nak mwê, u sav.

B.M.: Ai Bôdjé! Gad nô! U té allé lékol?

E.B.: Ba konet koté do-a yé.

B.M.: U ba konet koté do-a yé? . . .
Nô!

Spell Fonograf

B.M.: Mwê kai mandé-u yô *gran' spell*. Mwê vlé-u *spell* Fo-no-graf ba mwê.

E.B.: A Bôdié O! *So good* nâ so good! Ebê, si u passa *spell* li, sé pu u *drag*.³⁰ Si u passa *drag*, u ni pu *make up*. (Long pause).

B.M.: Gad nô! Sa i yé? Yô maladi pwâ-u apwézâ? U vlé dlo?

E.B.: Ice wata!

B.M.: Mwê vlé-u di mwê ki mun ki ba-u atariti pu *stan'* asu sad *Trinidad?* Sa u ka fê isit?

E.B.: Misié Mawisho, Sé *Jane*, Tan *Betsy*: Yo di mwê, u ka *travel*, *travel* nâ tut la *Gwinad*, *travel* *Twinité*, é lè u ka *wivé*, *shâjé*, pa oblié, tut *news-la* u twuvé sé pu u mété nâ *black an' white*, èvèk lè u vini isit *Gwinad* sé pu u *explain*. *Shâjé* bié, *schoolin'-la* u twuvé u ni pu *spell*, é si u pa kon *spell* u pa kon *kozé—u* pa konet vini nâ *High School* *Gwinad*.

B.M.: Yé di-u sa? . . . *Yes* sa!

B.M.: Sa sé *instruction* yé ba-u? . . .
Yes sa!

B.M.: Ebê gasô, tan mwê bié. Mwê vlé-u *spell* Fo-no-graf ba mwê.

E.B.: Ai Bôdié O!

B.M.: Ebê gadé! Sa u passa *spell* u ni pu hal, sa u passa hal u ni pu *drag*, sa u passa *drag* mwê kai fé-u *hice* li, u wê. *Good man!*

E.B.: U ka fê mwê *hice* li? . . . U ni pu *hice* li, wi.

E.B.: Sa u *mean*? Mwê sé *jackass*?

B.M.: I will strike you, you know.

E.B.: Don't strike me. Don't strike me. Pay attention to where you are striking me, you know.

B.M.: My God! Look nuh! You went to school?

E.B.: I don't know where the (school) door is.

B.M.: You don't know where the door is? . . . No!

Spell Phonograph

B.M.: I am asking you a grand spelling. I want you to spell *Pho-no-graph* for me.

E.B.: Oh my God! So good and so good. Well, if you cannot spell it, you must *drag*³⁰ (it). If you cannot *drag*, you have to *make up*. (Long pause).

B.M.: Look nuh! What is it? A sickness has taken you now? You want water?

E.B.: Ice water!

B.M.: I want you to tell me who give you authority to stand on *Trinidad* sod (soil)? What are you doing here?

E.B.: Mr. *Marryshow*, Sister *Jane*, Aunt *Betsy*: They tell me, "you are going to *travel*, *travel* all over *Grenada*, *travel* in *Trinidad*, and when you are coming back, remember, don't forget, all the news you get you must put it in black and white, and when you come back here to *Grenada* you must explain. Remember well, the schooling you had you must spell, and if you do not know how to spell you cannot converse, you do not know (enough) to enter the *High School* in *Grenada*."

B.M.: They tell you that? . . . *Yes* sir!

B.M.: That is the instruction they give you? . . . *Yes* sir!

B.M.: Well boy, hear me well. I want you to spell *Pho-no-graph* for me.

E.B.: Good Lord!

B.M.: Well look here! What you cannot spell, you have to haul, what you cannot haul you have to *drag*, what you cannot *drag* I will make you hoist it, you see. Good man!

E.B.: You will make me hoist it? . . . You have to hoist it, yes.

E.B.: What you mean? I am a *jackass*?

30. Spelling a word is made to appear as a physical effort, such as lifting or hauling a heavy load. To "make-up" is to use one's imagination.

B.M.: Gad nô! Ba jué èvèk mwê, u sav. Gad nô! Ba jué èvèk mwê. Mwê mandé-u *spell* Fo-no-graf, wi? Nivèsèl mwê kumásé twamblé; mwê ka futé-u ku asu lapo-u, u konet.

E.B.: Pa mention sa. U ði mwê pu *spell*, mwê ni pu stodi. Sa u di àkò?

B.M.: Mwê di-u *spell* Fo-no-graf ba mwê.

E.B.: Fo-no-graf! . . . Well done!

E.B.: A Bòdié O! U konet Misié Yarwood?

B.M.: Mwê konet Yarwood bié.

E.B.: A Bòdié O! U konet sé yò Baisadla?³¹

B.M.: Mwê t'ni yò kàsè à zòwèi mwê. Baka tan u.

E.B.: Ebê, mwê kai ni pu *blas'* li ba-u. . . . Go ahead!

E.B.: U oblié—lè u wivé nà jang-shan-la u ka alé plas sa-a yo ka kwiyé Fo' Road? . . . Well done!

E.B.: Yo ka di "Fo." . . . Well done!

E.B.: Ebê, fo sé fo? . . . Well done!

E.B.: Lè u mandé yò gentleman yò kwestian, èvèk i di-u "No!" Sa i mean? Fo sé fo; no sé no; . . . Eh!

E.B.: Fo-no! . . . Fo sé fo; no sé no. Sa sé "Fono".

E.B.: Ebê, Bòdié O! . . . Ai Bòdjé.

E.B.: Mwê ka di-u, nà tut! . . . Gasó ni education!

E.B.: Lè mwê passé . . . ! . . . Gasó ni education.

E.B.: Gavament Training College-la la, èvèk mwê vini èvè mwê allé . . . !

B.M.: Gad nô! Fal bak—fal bak! Sé u ki ka sàti kò sa?

E.B.: Ebê, mwê ka converse . . . !

B.M.: U ka sàti twop, neg. Sa help me Gad! Fal bak!

E.B.: U ka pwà mwê pu ram-goat? . . . Nò!

E.B.: U ka di mwê ka sàti.

B.M.: Mwê ka mènè-u éti Dentis'-la.

E.B.: A Bòdié O! . . . Go ahead!..

B.M.: Look nuh! Don't play with me, you know. Look nuh! Don't play me. I ask you to spell Phonograph, yes? My insides are beginning to tremble. I will put some blows on your skin, you know.

E.B.: Don't mention that. You tell me to spell, I have to study. What you say again?

B.M.: I tell you to spell Pho-no-graph for me.

E.B.: Pho-no-graph! . . . Well done!

E.B.: Oh my God! You know Mr. Yearwood?

B.M.: I know Yearwood well.

E.B.: Oh my God! You know he is a Barrister-at-Law?³¹

B.M.: I have cancer in my ears. I cannot hear you.

E.B.: Well, I will have to blast it for you. . . . Go ahead!

E.B.: You forget, when you arrive in the junction (when) you are going to that place they call Fo' (Four) Roads . . . !

E.B.: They say "Fo." . . . Well done!

E.B.: Well, Fo is Pho? . . . Well done!

E.B.: When you ask a gentleman a question, and he tell you "No!" What he mean? Fo is Pho; No is No. . . . Eh!

E.B.: Pho-no! . . . Fo is pho; no is no. That is "Pho-no."

E.B.: Well, oh my God! . . . Good Lord!

E.B.: I am telling you, indeed! . . . The boy has education!

E.B.: When I passed . . . ! (graduated from). . . The boy has education!

E.B.: . . . the Government Training College there, and I came and I went . . . !

B.M.: Look nuh! Fall back, fall back! It is you who are smelling like that?

E.B.: Well, I am conversing . . . !

B.M.: You are smelling too high, man! So help me God, fall back!

E.B.: You are taking me for a ram-goat? . . . No!

E.B.: You are telling me I stink.

B.M.: I will bring you to the dentist.

E.B.: Oh my God! . . . Go ahead!

31. An interesting elision from Barrister-at-Law to Barrista-at-La to Ba'ista-at-La' to Baisadla.

E.B.: Ba converse àkò.

B.M.: Sa sé fo; sa sé no. Fo pu fo; no pu no; sa sé "Fo-no."

E.B.: Fo-no! U shájé lè mwè allé à Batanik Garden? . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Mwè ka wè *mango* ka vini asu *sapadilla tree*.³² Mwè mandé-i: "Gentleman, ki ba'ai sa-a?" I di mwè: "Sa. U pa konet? U pa konet ayé kont graf?" Mwè di: "No Sa!" I di: Ebé sa sé graf ki asu yò pié bwa-a." Mwè di: "Fo sé fo, no sé no, graf sé graf: "Fo-no-graf."

B.M.: Sa sé Fonograph? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Well! Good spellin'! Ebé gasó!

E.B.: Stap! Mwè ka ba-u *flesh*, bô *flesh*. . . Well done!

E.B.: Five nà five!³³ . . . Well done! Five an' five sé ten.

E.B.: Nò! Pa count. Wilyam! . . . Yes sa!

Spell Constabulari

E.B.: Ha! Atásio bié! . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: U di u mājé bukshaneri, nà tut? . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Ebé, u ni *high college* pu *spell*? . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Mwè vlé-u *spell* "Constabulari."

B.M.: Wi Bódj-é-é-é! Wi Bódjé! Mizè *Trinidad* jòdi zòt! Gad nò! U pa mandé mwè si mwè pòté *suspenders* mwè. Gad nò! Nom ki t'ni gwo koko paka átwé . . . !

E.B.: Stap! Pa mention sa nà tut.

B.M.: Nom ki t'ni gwo koko paka átwé á pawadi, u sav.

E.B.: Pa kont sa, nà tut.

B.M.: Yo paka wè vizhai Bódjé, u sav. Ba vlé ayé pu *strain* mwè, u sav. . . Ba ba-u ayé pu *strain* u.

B.M.: Sa u di mwè *spell*?

E.B.: Mwè di-u *spell*—"Con-stab-u-la-ri."

E.B.: I am not conversing again (any more).

B.M.: That is pho; that is no. Pho is pho; no is no; that is "Phono".

E.B.: Pho-no! You remember when I went into the Botanic Gardens? . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: I am seeing *mango* growing on *sapodilla tree*.³² I asked, "Gentleman, what thing is this?" He told me, "That, you don't know? You don't know anything about graf' (graft)? I told him, "No sir." He said, "Well, that is a graf' that is on that tree." I said: "Fo' is pho; no is no; graf is graph: Phonograph."

B.M.: That is Phonograph? . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well! Good spelling! Well boy!

E.B.: Stop! I am giving you *flesh*, good *flesh* (a handshake). . . Well done!

E.B.: Five in five!³³ . . . Well done! Five and five are ten.

E.B.: No! Don't count. William! . . . Yes sir!

Spell Constabulary

E.B.: Ah! Pay good attention! . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: You say you have eaten (studied) a whole dictionary? . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: So, you have *high school* education to *spell*? . . . Yes Sir!

E.B.: I wan you to *spell* "Constabulary."

B.M.: Yes Lor-r-rd! Good God! Trouble in *Trinidad* today, you all! Look nuh! You haven't asked me if I have brought my *suspenders* (jock strap). Look nuh! A man who has swollen testicles cannot enter . . . !

E.B.: Stop! Do not mention that at all.

B.M.: Men who have swollen testicles cannot enter into *Paradise*, you know.

E.B.: I do not know that, at all.

B.M.: They do not see the face of God, you know. I do not want anything to *strain* me, you know . . . I haven't given you anything to *strain* you. . .

B.M.: What you tell me to *spell*?

E.B.: I tell you to *spell*, "Con-stab-u-la-ry."

32. Tropical fruit trees.

33. A reference to five fingers each in the clasp of hand to hand.

B.M.: Ai Bòdjé O-o-o-o! Gwà met!
Wi Bòdjé-é-é-é! Difé *Trinidad* jòdi!
Tan mwè bié. Mwè ka désan èvèk gwo
gwen Anglé, neg.

E.B.: U mean sa? . . . *Well done!*...

E.B.: Ebé, shájé bié, mwè di-u u
májé bukshaneri, nà tut.

B.M.: Ebé gasò, mwè passé amba
Mushé F. P. Sandaz, Barrista-at-La. I
di mwè, "gasò, tà u wivé *Trinidad*,
deliver as much as you can, u wè. *Well*
done!

E.B.: *Deliver*, nà tut; *gentleman*-la
ka kuté, èvèk sé *ladies*-la.

B.M.: Tà mwè lan *Trinidad*, ba konet
pèson. Mwè lan à plas-la kò yò *stranger*.
. . . . Tut sa!

B.M.: *Well done!* Mwè allé nà sé
large room. *Expenses* té too high. Silò
fakilti *ingenious*—Bòdjé pini mwè gad—
Mwè allé à *square*-a. Tà mwè assiz
asu *bench*-la, mwè kòtwé yò gial; mwè
mandé-i nò-i. I di mwè nò-i sé *Con-*
stance. I di mwè, "Wè you stayin'
Jan?" Mwè di-i, "M' name nà Jan. A
is a *Grenadian*. Am a *stranger*." She
say, "Al you *Grenadian* have hard
luck, but if you come wid me, that big
high tough expense in *Sailors' Home*³⁴
you can avide it." Mwè di, "Gad nò!"
I di mwè, "Come go wid me." Mwè
allé èvè-i; mwè allé èvè *Constance*.

E.B.: *Constance* u di?

B.M.: Wil Ebé gasò, pumié ti tà
mwè passé lakai *Constance*, *neighbour-a*
nex' do twuvé yò jab bà mwè *nex'* day.
As mwè twuvé *jab*-la, mwè twuvé
pèimà pu-i. . . . U mean sa?

B.M.: *Well done!* As mwè twuvé
pèimà-a, fo'man-la pòté mwè à *rum-*
shop-la Mètad *Trinidad* nò, nu pa
kutimà fè sa La Gwinad . . . ! . . . No
sa!

B.M.: . . . tà u twuvé pèimà, pu allé à
rumshop. Mè, silò fakilti *ingenious*
mental ca'culation li *direct* li, pas i
twuvé ti lapèi-la pu pòté mwè nà *rum-*
shop-la.

E.B.: Sa sé *expensive!*

B.M.: *Well done!* Mwè allé à *rum-*
shop-la. Tà mwè bwè . . . ! Ba té mājé

B.M.: Oh my God O-o-o-oh! Great
Master! Good Lor-r-rd! Fire in *Trini-*
dad today. Listen to me well. I am
coming down with some big English,
man.

E.B.: You mean that? . . . *Well*
done!

E.B.: *Well*, remember well, I tell
you you eat a whole dictionary.

B.M.: *Well* boy, I passed (*studied*)
under Mr. F. P. Sanders, Barrister-at-
Law. He tell me, "Boy, when you
arrive in *Trinidad*, deliver as much as
you can, you see." *Well done!*

E.B.: *Deliver*, fully; the gentlemen
are listening, and the ladies too.

B.M.: When I land in *Trinidad*, I do
not know anyone. I land in the place
like a *stranger*. . . . All of that?

B.M.: *Well done!* I go in a *large*
room. *Expenses* were too high. Through
my faculty of *ingeniousness*—may God
punish me—I go in the square. When
I sit down on the bench, I meet a girl;
I ask her her name. She tell me her
name is *Constance*. She tell me, "Where
you staying, John?" I tell her, "My
name not John. I is a *Grenadian*. Am a
stranger." She say, "All you *Grenadian*
have hard luck, but if you come wid
me, that big high tough expense in
Sailors' Home,³⁴ you can avide it." I
say, "Look, nuh!" She say, "Come go
wid me." I go with her; I go with
Constance.

E.B.: *Constance* you say?

B.M.: Yes! The first little time I
passed at *Constance* house, the neigh-
bour next door find a job for me next
day. As I get the job, I get payment
for it. . . . You mean that?

B.M.: *Well done!* As I get the pay,
the foreman take me in the *rumshop*.
The way of *Trinidad* nuh, we are not
accustomed to do that in *Grenada*. . . !
. . . . No sir!

B.M.: . . . when you get pay to go
in *rumshop*. But, his faculty of *in-*
genious mental calculation direct him,
because he get the little pay to bring
me in the *rumshop*.

E.B.: That is *expensive!*

B.M.: *Well done!* I go in the *rum-*
shop. When I drink . . . ! I did not eat

34. Expenses for staying at the Sailor's Home, run by the Salvation Army, are extremely low, and more in the nature of a social service.

u konet. U konet já Trinidad pa èmé cook' food, u konet . . . Yo pa konet mājé, nà tut.

B.M.: Yo obzèvé la La Gwinad, piti kô i yé, kâ mem sé balahu³⁵ èvèk crayfish—s'elp me Gad—èvè blògò³⁶, èvè breadfruit,³⁷ my Gad, yé kai ba-u.

E.B.: Sa sé bô feed, nà tut!

B.M.: Ba t'ni mājé à stomach mwè. Mwè allé bwè wom-la. Wom-la môté à tet mwè. Fo-man-la hook mwè. Yo kumàsè shâté.

E.B.: Kumàsè nansense!

B.M.: Nu kumàsè nansense. . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Kâ Constance gadé èvè i wè mwè ka vini, i di, "Jan, you make pay-day?" Mwè di, "Yes, Concel" "How much you get?" Mwè di-i, Don' aks me dat." In Grenada, nu pa kutné èvèk sa. . . . Nà tut.

B.M.: Ebè gasò, u konet fam déja. Tà yo koné yò piti kappa ka átwé, èvè avà u pôté kappa-a ba yé tet u plé èvè wom, èvè u pa pôté piès lajâ, yo ka crass.

E.B.: Yo ka capsizel!

B.M.: Fam-la crass twop. Mwè átwé. I di mwè, "U mean pu di, ah feed you, mwè ba-u mājé, u sé yò stranger, u allé swiv fo'man-la. Sa help me . . . sa help me Gad—èvè u allé bwè wom; u pa pôté lapèi!" Mwè di, "Shu gial! Shu gial!" Té t'ni yò sizo asu tab-la; Conse pwâ sizo-a. Ba ni lidé Fam-la tékai sévi-i, pas nu pa kutné avèk sa Gwinad, u sav. . . . Kô sa!

B.M.: Conse pwâ sizo-a, èvè i ataké mwè. . . . I stab u?

B.M.: Ebè gasò, tà i rush mwè—ba konet sa yo ka kwiyé kont breaksin'—i mashé asu mwè, é i futé mwè yò stab. Ebè gasò, silò fakilti mental direction mwè ka direct mwè, as mwè twuvé stab-la—Bòdjé pini mwè Gad—mwè sâti-i. Mwè pati dèhò. As mwè sòti dèhò, neighbour-a gadé mwè. I di mwè, "O Gad neighbour! What happen? Con

you know. You know Trinidad people do not like cook' (cooked) food, you know. . . . They don't know about food at all.

B.M.: They are accustomed there in Grenada, small as it is, even if it is balahu³⁵ and crayfish, so help me God, and bluggoe,³⁶ and breadfruit,³⁷ my God, they will give you.

E.B.: That is good food, in truth!

B.M.: I have no food in my stomach. I go and drink rum. The rum get up in my head. The foreman hook me (arm in arm). They begin to sing.

E.B.: Begin (to do) nonsense.

B.M.: We begin to do nonsense. . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: When Constance look and she see I am coming, she say, "John, you make pay-day?" I say, "Yes, Consel" "How much you get?" I say, "Don' aks (ask) me dat." In Grenada, we are not accustomed to that. . . . For true!

B.M.: Well boy, you know women already. When they know a few coppers coming in, and before you bring the money for them your head full of rum, and you do not bring any money, they get cross.

E.B.: They get capsized!

B.M.: The woman cross too much! I go in. She tell me, "You mean to say, I feed you, I give you food, you are a stranger, you go and follow the foreman, so help me . . . so help me God, and you go and drink rum, you bring no pay!" I say, "Go away, girl! Go away, girl. It had a scissors on the table; Conse take the scissors. I didn't have a mind (think) the woman was going to use it, for we are not accustomed to that in Grenada, you know. . . . That is so!

B.M.: Conse take the scissors and she attack me. . . . She stab you?

B.M.: Well boy, when she rush me, I do not know anything about breaksin' (parrying)—she walk up on me, and hit me a stab. Well boy, according to the faculty of my mental direction that direct me, as soon as I get the stab—may God punish me—I feel it. I run outside. As I go outside, the neighbour look at me. He tell me, "Oh God neigh-

35. A species of marine fish. (*Hemiramphus* sp.)

36. A species of banana (*Musa*), boiled and eaten in the unripe stage.

37. A staple starch vegetable in the West Indies.

stab you? Multiply i substract: Con pu con; stab pu stab; you pu u: Sa i yé? . . . Con-stab-u!

B.M.: Ai Bôdié! . . . A Bôdié O!

B.M.: Tan mwê bié, "Wézô fê lalwa; lalwa fê wézô." . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Sa sé Con-stab-u, u wè. . . A fut!

B.M.: Ebê gasô! Tut shimiz mwê ni sâ; marino mwê ni sâ, tut chest-plate mwê ni sâ. Mem tâ-a yô lari téka passé. Yé stap lari-a. Yé mété mwê nâ lari-a. Ebê gasô, as mwê âtwé à lari-a yé mènè mwê à Colonial Hospital. Multiply, substract' épl add: Con pu con; stab pu stab; you pu u; lari pu lari: Ba Constabulary, nô?

E.B.: Nâ tut! A Bôdié O! Mental parable, nâ tut! . . . Mwê di-u!

E.B.: Avek pèsonal, nâ tut! U konet spell, nâ tut! A Bôdié O!

B.M.: Mwê sé negiô ki sôti nâ Gumié,³⁸ u wè.

E.B.: Mwê ka wé sa asu-u.

B.M.: Ebê gasô, mèsiez é dam Trinidad, lôta yé pa tan piti diskos sa-a. . . Nâ tut!

B.M.: Ebê gasô, tut bagai la juné jôdi sé madan, ebê silô fakilti nu Gwinadié nu wivè—Queen Victoria, i ba nu freedom-la dépi à tâ Wilbifos.³⁹ Ebê gasô, silô gasô, negiô Trinidad yé paka understan' u wè. Mè Control Afis, pa la pèmisio sé gentleman-la-é à plas-la-é, yé di nu tâ u wivè sé pu nu show good behaviour, good conduc', èvè tut supot Government kai ba-u Trinidad. u wè. Well done!

E.B.: So good an' so good!

B.M.: So good an' so good! Ebê gasô! . . . Pwâ distance!

B.M.: Gad nô! Puchi u insultive kô sa?

bour! What happen? Con stab you? Multiply and substract: Con is con; stab is stab; you is you: What is that? . . . Con-stab-u!

B.M.: Good Lord! . . . Oh God oh!

B.M.: Listen well, "Reason makes the law; the law makes reason." . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: That is Con-stab-u, you see. . . . Indeed!

B.M.: Well boy, all my shirt has blood; my merino has blood; all over my chest has blood. At the same time a lorry was passing. They stop the lorry. They put me in the lorry. Well boy, as I enter in the lorry they take me to the Colonial Hospital. Multiply, substract and add: Con is con; stab is stab; you is you; lorry is lorry: Not Constabulary, nuh?

E.B.: Indeed! Good Lord! Mental parable, in truth! . . . I tell you!

E.B.: With personalities, and all! You know how to spell, in truth! Good Lord Oh!

B.M.: I am a negro who has come out from Gumié,³⁸ you see.

E.B.: I am seeing that on' you.

B.M.: Well boy, the gentlemen and ladies of Trinidad, for a long time they have not heard a little discourse like that. . . . Is true!

B.M.: Well boy, everything today is modern, and only by our faculties we Grenadians we arrive; Queen Victoria, she give us the freedom since in the time of Wilberforce.³⁹ Well boy, consequently boy, Trinidad negroes do not understand, you see. But the Control Office, through the permission of those gentlemen in the place there, they tell us when we arrive we must show good behaviour, good conduct, and all support Government will give you in Trinidad, you see. Well done!

E.B.: So good and so good!

B.M.: So good and so good! Well boy! . . . Take distance!

B.M.: Look nuh! Why you insulting like that?

38. Supposed to be a prosperous place in Grenada, where plenty of ground provisions is available, and where people are well fed, and smart, viz: sophisticated and intelligent. Probably a corruption of the French gros mieux—viz—much better.

39. William Wilberforce (1759-1833) the British abolitionist connected with the emancipation of African slaves in the West Indies.

E.B.: Ebè sa, u konet déja. Pa mandé mwè lè mwè ka converse.

B.M.: Sa sé anik bagai èvek neg West Indian . . . ! . . . A Bòdié O!

B.M.: neg. . . . neg West Indian always abrupt. Puchi u abrupt kò sa? Mwè diskos telma bô èvè-u, èvè u ka insult mwè kò sa.

E.B.: Mwè di-u, take distance.

B.M.: Puchi u ka insult mwè kò sa? Ba fè-u ayé.

E.B.: Pa wak up. Pa wak up.

B.M.: Gad nò. Ba fè-u ayé. . . . Ba wak up!

B.M.: Gad nò! Shòjé! Lalwa fè wézò; wézò fé lalwa, u konet.

E.B.: Gad! Mwè di-u pa wak up. . . . A right! Good man!

E.B.: Take distance! Fal back! . . . Well done sa! Well done!

Vié Kozé Kont Pòlitiks

E.B.: U ka converse? . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Ebè, converse . . . Mwè ka désan asu-u, 'neg.

E.B.: Pa désan two fò. Shàjé, ba bié. Shàjé weakness-la nà kò mwè déja.

B.M.: Well done! Mwè konet sa. Gad nò! Shak tà mwè gadé-u, mwè ka study position tut fami-u La Gwinad u konet, pas nu à Trinidad, èvè nu all sé West Indian. Nu all bilonks to de Caribbean, èvè si mwè ni yò piti lestenk èvè yò piti lespwi èvè understandin' plis passé-u, sé pu mwè direc' u,—sé pu mwè understand u. Silò tut sé piti understandin' sa—a—sa help me Gad—tut paché confusion-la Caribbean-é, paté kai ni sa. U tan mwè?

E.B.: Mwè konet sa, nà tut. . . . Well done!

E.B.: Sé sa ki fè u wè tut bagai sa-a désan asu Bidji⁴⁰

B.M.: Sa i yé?

E.B.: Pa t'ni understandin'. . . . Ebé gasò, i ba ni . . . !

E.B.: I désan asu Bidji, Bi-dji! . . . Yes sa! Bidji u di?

E.B.: Well, that you already know. Don't ask me (anything) when I am conversing.

B.M.: That is the only thing with West Indian Negroes, . . . ! . . . Oh Lord!

B.M.: . . . West Indian Negroes always abrupt. Why (are) you so abrupt? I discourse so well with you, and you are insulting me like that.

E.B.: I tell you, take distance.

B.M.: Why are you insulting me like that. I have not done you anything.

E.B.: Don't walk up. Don't walk up.

B.M.: Look nuh! I aint do you anything. . . . Don't walk up!

B.M.: Look nuh! Remember! "The law makes reason; reason makes the law," you know.

E.B.: Look! I tell you don't walk up. . . . All right! Good man!

E.B.: Take distance! Fal back! . . . Well done sir! Well done!

Political Gossip

E.B.: Are you conversing? . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: Well, converse. . . . I am coming down on you, fellow (my friend).

E.B.: Don't come down too hard. Remember, I am not well. Remember the weakness already in my body.

B.M.: Well done! I know that. Look nuh! Every time I look at you, I study the position of all your family in Grenada you know, for we are (now) in Trinidad, and we all are West Indian. We all belong to the Caribbean, and if I have a little commonsense and a little ambition and understanding more than you, I must direct you; I must understand you. Given all this little understanding, so help me God, all the bunch of confusion in the Caribbean, (we) would not have had that. You hear me?

E.B.: I know that, fully. . . . Well done!

E.B.: It is that why you see all these things come down upon B.G.⁴⁰

B.M.: What is, that?

E.B.: They didn't have understanding. . . . Well boy, they have no . . . !

E.B.: It come down on B, G? . . . B.G.! . . . Yes sir! B.G. you say?

40. British Guiana, a British territory on the South American mainland.

E.B.: Bi-dji! . . . Sa ki désan asu Bidji?

E.B.: A Bôdié O! U pa konet?

B.M.: Ebé gasò, mwè ni . . . mwè té t'ni empé papié . . . !

E.B.: U pa kon Doktè Jagan⁴¹ ka vini àkò pu start tut trouble-li i futi nà Bidji? . . . Ebé gasò . . . !

E.B.: Ba konet tut rice-la⁴² yo ni la capsize?

B.M.: Ebé gasò, mwè té t'ni empé papié, empé document, kà mwè té nà University Jamaica téka study Caribbean afiè, èvè silò fasò West Indian Colony èvèk distòbanz, èvèk Probation Afisa, èvèk Control Afis, èvèk tut sé confusion⁴³ sa-a. Mwè téka study sé bagai sa-a. Zafè Jagan-la i passé mwè, mè mwè konet Jagan pa t'ni piès konekshan èvè West Indian, pas i sòti nà yò lot plas. Sa i yé? Yò Gwinadié? . . . Pa Gwinadié.

B.M.: Jagan sé pa Gwinadié? . . . No sa!

B.M.: Sa i yé?

E.B.: U ba konet Jagan sòti djis nà . . . nà Kalkata?⁴⁴

B.M.: O-o-o-o-o! U mean Jagan t'ni mem mètad èvèk . . . mem mètad-la Gèri⁴⁵ vlé pòté La Gwinad? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: U konet sa sé mun-la yé fè? Gari di yo yò bagai. Yé allé, yé pwà kutla. Yé kupé tut sé pié blògò-a; tut sé pié kako-a; sé notmeg-la-é, pié kowosol-la-é, tut sé pom kanel-la, yé kupé-i. Tà sé mun-la hashé tut sa, èvè Guvenmà dubut èvè i gadé sa, mem bagai-la pu pòté *produc'* pu mentén plas-la—sa help me Gad—kumà sé pu sé mun-la viv?

E.B.: Pa famin? . . . Sé famin!

E.B.: B . . . G! . . . What come down on B.G.

E.B.: Oh my God! You don't know?

B.M.: Well boy, I have . . . I had some papers . . . !

E.B.: you don't know Dr. Jagan⁴¹ coming again to start all his trouble he inflicted on B.G.? . . . Well boy . . .

E.B.: You don't know all the rice⁴² they had there capsize?

B.M.: Well boy, I had some papers, some documents, when I was in the University (College of the West Indies in) Jamaica studying Caribbean affairs, and the ways of West Indian Colonies, and disturbances, and Probation Officer, and Control Office, and all this confusion.⁴³ I was studying these things. The Jagan affair escaped me, but I know Jagan has no connection with West Indian, for he has come out from another place. What is he? A Grenadian? . . . Not a Grenadian!

B.M.: Jagan is not a Grenadian? . . . No sir!

B.M.: What is he?

E.B.: You don't know Jagan come out quite from . . . from Calcutta?⁴⁴

B.M.: O-o-o-o-oh! You mean Jagan has the same method with . . . same method Gairy⁴⁵ wants to bring in Grenada? . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: You know what the people there do? Gairy tell them something. They go, they take their cutlasses. They cut all the bluggoe trees; all the cacao trees; the nutmeg, soursop trees; all the sugar-apple, they cut them. When the people hacked all these, and Government stand up and it watched that, the same things to bring produce to maintain the place, so help me God, how must the people live?

E.B.: Not famine? . . . It is famine!

41. Dr. Cheddi Jagan, reputedly left wing political leader of the party in power in the British Guiana Legislature when, due to certain disturbances, the B.G. Constitution was suspended by the British Colonial Office in 1953.

42. An important staple food crop in British Guiana. The capsizing of rice is merely badinage on the then political situation.

43. Satirical reference to social, political and economical matters in the West Indies.

44. Dr. Jagan is a native of British Guiana of East Indian descent.

45. Hon. Eric M. Gairy, present leader of the majority party (Labour) in the Grenada Legislature. Comments following are playful and satirical references to political disturbances in that island in 1951.

B.M.: Depi u pa t'ni mājé . . . Sé det!

B.M.: U ba wè? Magwé nu sé Gwinadié, nu wété dusmā nā Jamaica, èvè nu kuté tut bagai bié. Nu konet *West Indian* pu de *West Indies*, *Caribbean* pu de *Caribbean*, an' Langlité ka voyé assistance pu assis' *Caribbean-la-é*. Népot kumā La Gwinad piti, nu asiz Kayaku èvek nu ka stodi sa. Nu ka multiply, nu ka suscribe, nu ka ca'culate, nu ka moderate, nu ka contemplate, nu ka demonstrate—tut sé bagai sa-a.

E.B.: U ka demonstrate apwézà, u sav. Fal back!

B.M.: Gad nò! Gad nò! Mwè kai di-u, u pa wè? Dépi Botla⁴⁶ té vini isit . . !

E.B.: Ah! Pa mention gentleman sa-a, nā tut, sa help me Gad!

B.M.: U pa wè kumā i ka behave? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Ebè gasò, piti saiko i ka sèvi apwézà, seven years ago, si i té sèvi saiko sa-a—sa help me Gad—si té one dollar àkò u tékai twuvé-i.

E.B.: Nu pa twuvé àkò.

B.M.: U passa sèvi fos èvek might u konet.

E.B.: U wè, might sé might; fos sé fos.

B.M.: Ebè gasò, u ni àpil education?

E.B.: Ba tèlma. Mwè mājé bukshaneri.

B.M.: U mājé dictionary? . . . Bukshaneri, nā tut!

B.M.: Bukshaneri? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Ai Bòdjé! Ebè gasò, si u mājé dictionary mwè ka désan asu-u èvek gwo gwen Anglé.

E.B.: Pa fosé mwè, nā tut.

B.M.: Nò! Baka fosé-u, Sa u passa hal, u ka ni pu drag li. Sa sé métad Gwinad, u konet. Now, you *West Indian*—sa help me Gad—zot ni abrupt' manner. Sa help me Gad, nèpot kumā u handle yò silverspoon, unless u pa mètè yò crowbar à laché nu . . . !

B.M.: As long as you have no food? . . . It is death!

B.M.: Don't you see? Although we are Grenadian, we remain quietly in Jamaica, and we listen well to everything. We know *West Indian* for the *West Indies*, *Caribbean* for the *Caribbean*, and England is sending assistance to assist the *Caribbean*. Never mind how Grenada small, we sit down in Carriacou and we study that (think of these things). We multiply, we subscribe (subtract), we calculate, we moderate, we contemplate, we demonstrate,—all these things.

E.B.: You are demonstrating now, you know. Fall back!

B.M.: Look nuh! Look nuh! I am telling you, don't you see? Since Butler⁴⁶ came here, . . . !

E.B.: Ah! Don't mention that gentleman, at all, so help me God!

B.M.: You don't see how he behaves? . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well boy, the little psychology he is using now, seven years ago, if he had used this psychology, so help me God, even if it was one dollar more, you would have had it.

E.B.: We cannot get it again.

B.M.: You cannot compel force with might you know.

E.B.: You see, might is might; force is force.

B.M.: Well boy, you have a lot of education?

E.B.: Not plenty. I eat dictionary.

B.M.: You eat dictionary? Whole dictionary.

B.M.: Dictionary? Yes sir!

B.M.: Oh God! Well boy, if you eat dictionary, I am coming down on you with big English.

E.B.: Don't force me, at all.

B.M.: No! I am not forcing you. What you cannot haul, you will have to drag it. That is the method of Grenada, you know. Now, you *West Indian*, so help me God, all you have abrupt manner. So help me God, in spite of your handling a silver spoon, unless they don't put a crowbar in our tails . . . !

46. Hon. T. U. B. Butler, Grenadian born elected member of the 1950-56 Trinidad Legislature, who rose to fame in the Trinidad oilfield workers disturbances of 1937.

E.B.: A fut! A Bôdié O! Pa mention sa. . . . Well done!

E.B.: Pa pwâ *private business* mwê pu fê *market compulsion*, nâ tut.

B.M.: Ebê gasô, mwê paka di-u ayê nò; paka di-u ayê pu bwilê chê-u, pas mwê konet, "chê bwilê—nam dané"; "fasô shu pa fasô pembwa"; "lalin kuwi, dju bawé"; "kat zîé kontwé, mâti fini" . . .Stap!

B.M.: Baka dispit èvè-u, u wè! . . . Stap!

B.M.: Djâ *Trinidad!* . . . Stap! Mwê vlé-u di mwê . . . !

B.M.: *Discussion* sa-a, djâ *Trinidad* ka kuté. Pa mété pawol nâ bush djâ *Trinidad* pu yé di-u . . .

E.B.: Ba mété! Ba mété!

B.M.: U tan sa mwê di-u. Dépi La Gwinad u t'ni métad sa-a. Ochen . . . !

E.B.: Stap! No sa!

B.M.: Ochen kalité gam u t'ni—my Gad—ba kitê djâ *Trinidad* twuvé plô asu-u.

E.B.: Ha! Ha! Ha! Ai Bôdié! Konet sa mwê vlé mandé-u? . . . Mwê ka kuté-u.

E.B.: Mwê vlé mandé-u, *Capital Trinidad!* . . . Sa i yé?

E.B.: Mwê ka mandé-u koté *Capital Trinidad* yé!

B.M.: Sa ki fê *mental fakilti-u?* *Capital Trinidad?* . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: *Capital Trinidad bounded number one: Harbour Scheme! Water Scheme,*⁴⁷ *number two!*

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Mê u désan à stodi.

B.M.: Nò! Mwê ni bizwê papié-a-é. Ochen ayê ki fê nâ *Legislative Council* nâ *Caribbean-la*, sa *help me* Gad, yé tini à *Langlitè*, yé ka *transmit* li nâ *Jamaica* pu sé *student-la-é* wè-i, u wè.

E.B.: Mwê ka kuté!

E.B.: What! Oh my God! Don't mention that. . . . Well done!

E.B.: Don't take my *private business* to make *market compulsion* (a public affair) at all.

B.M.: Well boy, I am not telling you anything, nuh; I am not telling you anything to hurt your heart, for I know, "An angry heart is a soul damned;" "tania ways is not breadfruit ways;" "the moon runs, (but) the day stops it;" "four eyes meet, lying finish." . . .Stap!

B.M.: I am not quarrelling with you, you see! . . . Stap!

B.M.: The people of *Trinidad* Stap! I want you to tell me.!

B.M.: This discussion, the people of *Trinidad* are listening. Don't put words in the mouth of *Trinidad* people for them to tell you . . . !

E.B.: I did not put! I did not put!

B.M.: You hear what I tell you. Since in *Grenada* you have this manner. Any . . . !

E.B.: Stop! No, sir!

B.M.: . . . any kind of manner you have, my God, don't let the people of *Trinidad* have an advantage over you.

E.B.: Ha! Ha! Ha! Oh Lord! You know what I want to ask you? . . . I am listening.

E.B.: I want to ask you, . . . the *Capital of Trinidad!* . . . What is it?

E.B.: I am asking you where is the *Capital of Trinidad?*

B.M.: What is the matter with your *mental faculty?* The *Capital of Trinidad?* . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: The *Capital of Trinidad bounded number one: . . . Harbour Scheme! Water Scheme,*⁴⁷ *number two.*

E.B.: Oh my God! But you go down in study (think deeply)!'

B.M.: No! I have need of my notes. Anything which happens in the *Legislative Councils* in the *Caribbean*, so help me God, they have it in *England*, they transmit it to *Jamaica* for the students there to see it, you see.

E.B.: I am listening!

47. In *Trinidad*, public criticism has been levelled at Government for waste of money on both these schemes of public works.

B.M.: U wè—sa sé *number two*. Evè
main *Capital Trinidad* sé:— *Gran'*
*Savannah*⁴⁸

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Ha! Ebé, Bôdié!
Mété nâ five. A Bôdié!

B.M.: *Five an' five sé ten.*

E.B.: Ka di-u, *mental parable*, nâ
tut!

B.M.: "Kat zîé kontwé, mâti fini."

E.B.: A Bôdié! Ka fê *personal*, nâ
tut!

B.M.: *Fun sé fun*, fas sé fas; kasé
bwa â fes makak pa *fun*, u sav.

E.B.: A-a-a-a! Stap sa mwé di-u, nâ
tut!

B.M.: *Well done! Fal back! Wilyam!*
... A Bôdié O!

Spell Motoka

B.M.: Tan mwé bié. ... *Yes sa!*

B.M.: Abâ fasô sa-a mwé wè manîè-u.
Mwé emè manîè fasô u vini *Trinidad*,
èvè u *inten'* pu u diskos, u konet. U di
u t'ni *high education*, èvek tut sa mwé
di-u âswet u t'ni *high intellec'* u ... u
stodi bié.

E.B.: Mwé ka *converse*.

B.M.: *Well done!* Mwé ka désan asu-
u âkò épi yô *grain spellin'*.

E.B.: Pa fos mwé, mwé di-u âkò.

B.M.: Mwé vlé-u *spell* Mo-to-ka ba
mwé.

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Nâ tut! ... U tan
mwé.

E.B.: Sa, u di? ... Mo-to-ka!

E.B.: Tan bié! Shâjé, mwé ni zòwèi
bwa. ... Ai Bôdjé!

E.B.: Lè u ka *converse* ...! ...
Yes sa!

E.B.: ... *mention* sa u *mean*.

B.M.: Gad nô! Tâ mwé di motoka,
La Gwinad yé kai kwiyé-i *fire-has*.

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Apwézâ mwé tan sa
u vlé mandé mwé.

B.M.: Mwé *mean fire-has*. ... Stap!

E.B.: U konet *gentleman-la* ka twa-
vai bai Guvelma, yo ka kwiyé-i Misié
Mo? Ka mandé-u kestiô!

B.M.: You see, that is *number two*.
And the main *Capital of Trinidad* is:
... The Grand *Savannah*⁴⁸!

E.B.: Oh my God! Ha! Well, good
Lord! Put five here. O God!

B.M.: Five and five are ten.

E.B.: I am telling you, *mental*
parable, in truth!

B.M.: "Four eyes meet, lying finish."

E.B.: Good God! Making you get
personal and all.

B.M.: Fun is fun, joke is joke but
breaking wood in monkey's arse is not
fun, you know.

E.B.: A-a-a-ah! Stop that I tell you,
at once!

B.M.: Well done! Fall back! William!
... Good God!

Spell Motor Car

B.M.: Listen well. ... *Yes sir!*

B.M.: In these circumstances I see
your manner. I like the way in which
you come to Trinidad, and your inten-
tion to discourse, you know. You say
you have high education, and all that
I tell you I hope you have high intellect,
... you study well.

E.B.: I am conversing.

B.M.: Well done! I am coming down
on you again with a grain of spelling.

E.B.: Don't force me, I am telling
you again.

B.M.: I want you to spell Mo-to-car
(motor car) for me.

E.B.: O Lord! After all! ... Have
you heard me?

E.B.: What did you say? ...
Moto'car.

E.B.: Listen well! Remember, I have
wooden ears (am deaf) ... Good Lord!

E.B.: When you are conversing, ...
Yes sir!

E.B.: ... *mention* what you *mean*.

B.M.: Look nuh! When I say moto'
car, in Grenada they call it fire-horse.

E.B.: Oh God oh! Now I hear what
you want to ask me.

B.M.: I mean Fire-horse. ... Stop!

E.B.: You know the gentleman who
works for the Government, they call him
Mr. Moe? I am asking you the question.

48. The Queen's Park Savannah, Port-of-Spain, a large park, in which is centred the best horse-racing plant in Trinidad, where a few millions of dollars are now invested at each of its two seasonal meetings. According to Mr. McKenzie: "Gwo lajâ ka passé la". (Big money (stakes) is passing there).

B.M.: Misié Mo sé travelling agent
Guvelma.

E.B.: Mwé mandé-u si u konet li?
... Very well, sa!

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Misié Mo sé té yô
gentleman! ... Well done!

E.B.: Ebê! Please pu kontwé-i! ...
Well done!

E.B.: Welcome to tak! ... Well
done!

E.B.: E lè u vini èvek gentleman sa-
a, nâ tut, èvek u converse ... !

B.M.: Yes sa!

E.B.: Shâjé bié sa u mandé mwê. Sa
u di mwê âkô?

B.M.: Mwê mandé-u ... ! Gad nô!
Sa i yé ki fè-u? Sa ki fè mental
faculty-u?

E.B.: Lè mwê ka stodi kô sa èvè u ka
palé, sa help me, yô vibration â kô
mwê, tut sa u ka mandé mwê, ka passé.

B.M.: Ebê gasô, tan sa mwê ka di-u.
Si sé sho u sho, mwê kai ... !

E.B.: Ba kon sho!

B.M.: Mwê kai fè-u twafik â tut vil
poor La Gwinad, â tut vil poor Trinidad
èvè bul laglas⁴⁹ â kò-u, u konet.

E.B.: A Bôdié! Pa mention sa. Mwê
ka converse. Si nu ka converse ... !

B.M.: Go ahead! U ka diskos twop.
U ka djagwiné twop. Go ahead!

E.B.: Bambé! Sapwi! A Bôdié O!

B.M.: Vié sapwi kô u! Mwê mandé-u
spell Motoka—Fire-has Gwinad!

E.B.: Mwê di-u, u konet gentleman-la
Misié Mo?

B.M.: Well done! Mwê konè-i.

E.B.: Té béliif pa la? ... Yes sa!

E.B.: Misié Mo! ... Yes sa!

E.B.: Ebê, i té t'ni yô papié pu i té
vini seize. ... Well done!

E.B.: Ha Bôdié O! Ebê, ju sa-a mwê
cry! ... Well done!

E.B.: Lè mwê wè Mushé Mo môté asu
Mon Bêkolet, ... Yes sa!

E.B.: ... èvek notis sa nâ kò-i, ...
... Yes sa!

B.M.: Mr. Moe is the travelling agent
of the Government.

E.B.: I ask you if you know him?
... Very well sir!

E.B.: Oh my God! Mr. Moe was a
gentleman! ... Well done!

E.B.: Well! A pleasure to meet him!
... Well done!

E.B.: Welcome to talk! ... Well
done!

E.B.: And when you meet with this
gentleman, in truth, and you con-
verse ... !

B.M.: Yes sir!

E.B.: Remember well what you ask
me. What you tell (ask) me, again?

B.M.: I ask you ... ! Look nuh!
What is happening to you? What is
happening to your mental faculty.

E.B.: When I am studying like this
and you are talking, so help me, I get
a vibration, and all you are asking me,
pass me by.

B.M.: Well boy, listen to me. If it's
hot you hot, I will ... !

E.B.: I am not hot.

B.M.: I will make you travel in all
the poor towns of Grenada, in all the
poor towns of Trinidad with a ball of
ice⁴⁹ on you, you know..

E.B.: Oh my God! Don't mention
that. I am conversing. If we are
conversing ... !

B.M.: Go ahead! You are discours-
ing too much. You are annoying me too
much. Go ahead!

E.B.: Rab! Imbecile! Good God!

B.M.: Old imbecile like you! I ask
you to spell Moto' Car—Fire-horse of
Grenada.

E.B.: I ask, do you know the gentle-
man, Mr. Moe?

B.M.: Well done! I know him.

E.B.: He was the bailiff there. ...
Yes sir!

E.B.: Mr. Moe! ... Yes sir!

E.B.: Well, he had a document for
him to come and seize ... Well done!

E.B.: Oh my God! Well, on that day
I cried. ... Well done.

E.B.: When I saw Mr. Moe climb up
Mt. Bacolet ... ! ... Yes sir!

E.B.: ... with this notice on him,
... Yes sir!

49. A ball of ice on the body to cool off blows received.

E.B.: èvè, i gentleman tut tà t'ni ti mato-i, u sav, Yes sa!

E.B.: . . . è, lè Misié Mo vini, èvek i vini à kai-la, lè i vini èvek i kôyè, pa pèson ki la. Kai-la fèwè. Lè Misié Mo pwà papié sa-a nâ bò . . . ! Ayayai! Sa help me Gad—ba vlé . . . ! Ba'ai sa'a ka fè mwè twamblé, nâ tut! Mwè ka prance up, apwèzà!

B.M.: U ka prance up?

E.B.: Ebè, lè u wè nu té bò . . . !

B.M.: Stap! Si u ka prance up, mwè kai fè-u give up ta alé.

E.B.: Lè u wè Misié Mo pwà ba'ai sa-a—sa notis-la mwè ka di-u àkò Well done!

E.B.: . . . èvek i pwà-i èvek i kluwé-i asu kai-la; i pwà-i èvek i kôyè-i, u tan: To! To! To! Mwè di: "A Misié Mo!" Mo sé mo; to sé to! . . . A Bòdjé O!

E.B.: Sa sé Moto! . . . Hai! Yes sa! Well done!

E.B.: Mè, djâ Gwinad nâ tut, tut tà yo t'ni ti ka^{so} dèyè kai yo, lè yo ka mètè kwab lè yo chembé. . . . Well done!

E.B.: Lè ma'am-la tan lè ba'ai-la kôyè kò sa, i twamblé! I sòti. Lè i sòti, sòti i sòti, ebè i tombé. Lè i tombé? I tombé à ka-a. Mo sé mo; to sé to; ka sé ka. Sa u mean? Pa Mo-to-ka?

B.M.: Well done! Ebè gasò, tan mwè bié. . . . Mwè ka kuté-u.

B.M.: Wézò fè lalwa; lalwa fè wézò."

Spell Rumatizam

E.B.: Wilyam! . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Mwè vlé-u spell Ru-ma-ti-zam ba mwè!

B.M.: Ebè gasò, mwè paruz *Universal Spelling Book*. Mwè t'ni high education. Aba fasò sa-a, mwè kai spell ba-u. Mwè kai spell rumatizam. (Pause).

E.B.: Wilyam! . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: Shòjé mwè mandé-u spell rumatizam. . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: U sé yò skòlka! . . . Ba tan sa u di, nò!

E.B.: . . . and, he is a gentleman who always carry his little hammer, you know Yes sir!

E.B.: . . . and when Mr. Moe arrive, and he come in the house, when he come and he knock, not a soul was there. The house was closed. When Mr. Moe took this document out . . . Ayayai (alas)! So help me God, I don't want . . . ! This thing makes me tremble all over. I am prancing up now!

B.M.: You prancing up?

E.B.: When you see we were near . . !

B.M.: Stop! If you are prancing up I will soon make you give it up.

E.B.: When you see Mr. Moe take that thing—that notice, I am telling you again— . . . ! . . . Well done!

E.B.: . . . and he take it and he nail it on the house; he take it and he nail it, you hear: Toh! Toh! Toh! I say: "Ah Mr. Moe!" Moe is Moe; toh is toh! . . . Good Lord!

E.B.: That is Moto! . . . Ha! Yes Sir! Well done!

E.B.: But, all Grenada people, always they have a little "ka"^{so} (barrel) behind (at the back of) their house, in which they put crabs when they catch them. Well done!

E.B.: When the woman (a neighbour) hear the knocking like that, she tremble. She come out. When she come out, as soon as she come out, well, she fall. Where she fall? She fall in the "ka" Moe is moe; toh is toh; ka is ka; what does it mean? Not Mo-to' car?

B.M.: Well done! Well boy, listen well. . . . I am listening.

B.M.: "Reason makes law; law makes reason."

Spell Rheumatism

E.B.: William! . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: I want you to spell Rheumatizam (tism) for me.

B.M.: Well boy, I peruse the *Universal Spelling Book*. I have high education. Under these circumstances, I will spell for you. I will spell Rheumatism. (Pause).

E.B.: William! . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: Remember I ask you to spell rheumatism. . . . Yes sir!

E.B.: You are a skulker. . . . I aint hear what you say, nuh!

50. From "quart", a barrel carrying a quarter, or 28 lb.

E.B.: U sé yò skòlka! . . . Ba skòlka!

E.B.: Si u ba skòlka, kumà u ka pwà telma tà?

B.M.: Ba skòlka. Mwè sé yò gentleman ki paruz *Universal Spellin' Book*, èvè mwè sa cut, mwè sa contrive, mwè sa make-out. Ba skòlka. Mwè sé yò skòla.

E.B.: U sé yò skòlka; u ba skòla . . . Mwè sé yò skòla!

E.B.: Mwè vlé tan Ru-ma-ti-zam!

B.M.: Well done! Mwè kai spell li ba-u. Gad nò! Bagai sa-la u kai shashé, pa pu kò-u yon, nò! . . . Pa mention!

B.M.: Sa u ka shashé pa pu kò-u yon. . . . Pa mention sa mwè di-u.

B.M.: Pas âba fasò sa-a, sa u ka shashé, sa help me Gad, mwè ka futé-u telma oswè sa-a, u paka konet lè pu mètè kò-u. Mwè di-u sa! . . . Sa u mean la? Futé?

B.M.: Futé! Ebè gasò . . . !

E.B.: Futé sé futé! Guté sé guté! Mwè mandé-u pu spell Rumatizam, u sav.

B.M.: Gad nò! Mwè kai spell li ba-u.

E.B.: Ebè, u ka pwà twop tâ. . . .

Mem fasò . . . !

E.B.: Si u pa kon spell, Mem fasò sa-a . . . !

E.B.: U kai drag. Si u passa drag sé pu u make-up.

B.M.: Mem fasò fastness-la u té t'ni La Gwinad u kai pôté-i Trinidad. Mwè kai kat u ap!

E.B.: Stap! Pipe down! Mwè vlé tan Rumatizam.

B.M.: Wilyam! . . . Ai Bôdié!

B.M.: Tâ i t'ni yò fire lanwit; I pa t'ni klòsh pu sonè, i pa t'ni kòn pu sufé,⁵¹ mè gwo difé dimi Trinidad, fo an' a half,⁵² my Gad, under faia. Sa u ka tan? U paka tan yò ruma?

E.B.: U t'ni pu mandé kò-u sa ki wivé?

B.M.: Tâ u mandè, u paka tan yò ruma?

E.B.: You are a skulker. . . . I am no skulker.

E.B.: If you are no skulker, why are you taking so much time?

B.M.: I am not a skulker. I am a gentleman who peruse the *Universal Spelling Book*, and I can cut, I can contrive, I can make-out. I am no skulker. I am a scholar.

E.B.: You are a skulker. You are not a scholar. . . . I am a scholar.

E.B.: I want to hear "Rheumatism."

B.M.: Well done! I will spell it for you. Look nuh! This thing you are looking for is not for you alone, nuh! Do not mention that.

B.M.: What you are looking for is not for you alone. . . . Do not mention that, I say.

B.M.: Because by your manner, what you are looking for, so help me God, I will beat you so much tonight, you will not know where to put yourself. I tell you that. . . . What you mean? Beat?

B.M.: Beat! Well boy . . . !

E.B.: Beat is beat; taste is taste. I ask you to spell Rheumatism, you know.

B.M.: Look nuh! I will spell it for you.

E.B.: Well, you are taking too much time. . . . The same attitude . . . !

E.B.: If you do not know how to spell, . . . This same attitude . . . !

E.B.: . . . you will drag. If you cannot drag you must make up.

B.M.: This same attitude of fastness you had in Grenada you will bring it in Trinidad. I will cut you up!

E.B.: Stop! Pipe down! I want to hear "Rheumatism"!

B.M.: William! . . . Oh God!

B.M.: When there is a fire at night; there is no bell to ring, there is no horn to blow,⁵¹ but big fire in half of Trinidad. Four and a half,⁵² my God, under fire. What do you hear. Do you not hear a "Rumour".

E.B.: You have to ask yourself what has happened.

B.M.: When you ask, don't you hear a rumour?

51. In former times, bells were rung and horns were blown to tell of a fire.

52. "Fore and aft" is spoken as "four-and-a-half" in Tobago, the island ward of Trinidad.

E.B.: U t'ni pu mandê kò-u sa ki wivê èvek ruma sa-a. U ka kwiye, "néba, what happen?"

B.M.: Tâ u tan ruma-a, as u tan ruma difé, èvè u ka wété â yô mézô, mézô-a u ka westé adâ, népôt ki mun gentleman-la yé, dépi i tan difé, i paka uvê finet li pu gadé dèhò?

E.B.: I t'ni pu gadé!

B.M.: Tâ u lévé nâ kaban-u sho fodé marnin' èvè u tan difé, èvè u *expose* badi-u dèhò, èvek draf-la pwâ-u, u paka twapé yô fwédi? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Well done! Tâ u twapé fwédi èvè u alé éti dakta, tâ i sondé-u èvè i sondé potwin u, recently under modern administration, yé paka di-u u t'ni P.H.?⁵³ . . . A Bôdié O!

B.M.: Well done!

E.B.: Pa "Po Hopes?"

B.M.: "Po Hopes!" . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Ebê gasô, âba medical advice, màmâ-u di u t'ni P.H., mē i ba décide pu mété-u nâ Consumption Wad, sa i ka fè? I paka chen u lakai dépi i t'ni akamadēshan pu i ba-u treatment?

E.B.: I ka try.

B.M.: I ka try. . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Ebê gasô, dépi i ka try, u paka twuvé empé peas bush?

E.B.: Tut bagai!

B.M.: U paka twuvé empé haibis-kaz? . . . Tut bagai!

B.M.: Well done! U paka twuvé empé kôlifôwa-a-az? . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: U paka twuvé empé sof' candle?

E.B.: A Bôdié! Sa sé private business, nâ tut!

B.M.: U paka twuvé empé sweet ail?

E.B.: Tut ba'ai sa, nâ tut, u t'ni pu menshan.

B.M.: U paka twuvé empé hon-e-e-ey? . . . Yes sa!

E.B.: You have to ask yourself what is happening with this rumour about. You call out, "Neighbour, what happen?"

B.M.: When you hear the rumour, as you hear it is a rumour about fire, and you are living in a house, in the house in which you are, never mind what kind of gentleman you are, as long as he hears "fire", does he not open his window to look outside?

E.B.: He has to look!

B.M.: When you get out of bed warm (body heat) in the early morning and you hear "Fire!", and you expose your body to the outside, and the cold air take you, do you not catch a cold? . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well done! When you catch a cold and you go to the doctor, when he sounds you and he sounds your chest, recently under modern administration, do they not tell you you have P.H.?⁵³ . . . Oh my God!

B.M.: Well done!

E.B.: Is it not "Poor Hopes?"

B.M.: "Poor Hopes!" . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well boy, under medical advice, your mother tell you you have P.H., but she does not decide to put you in the Consumption Ward, what does she do? Does she not keep you at home as long as she has accommodation to give you treatment?

E.B.: She will try.

B.M.: She will try. . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well boy, since she will try, do you not get some peas bush?

E.B.: Everything!

B.M.: Do you not get some hibiscus? . . . Everything!

B.M.: Well done! Do you not get some cauliflowers? . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Do you not get some soft candle?

E.B.: Oh my God! That is private business in truth!

B.M.: Do you not get some sweet oil?

E.B.: All these things, indeed, you have to mention.

B.M.: Do you not get some honey? . . . Yes sir!

53. "PH" is an abbreviation of Phthisis or tuberculosis of the lungs. Colloquially interpreted as "Poor Hopes", meaning "past hope", a view much modified today in the light of modern methods of treatment.

B.M.: Evè u ka pwâ evè u ka mété
empé *green li-i-me*?

E.B.: Tut ba'ai sa-a, nâ tut!

B.M.: Evè u paka mété empé *anisee-
e-ed*? Evè u ka mété *cookin'* ail?

E.B.: Tut ba'ai sa-a, nâ tut!

B.M.: U ka mété empé *cookin'* ail.
Tâ u buyi tut âsam, sa u ka fè? U paka
fè yô "lok"?⁵⁴ . . . Sa vwé! Sa vwé,
Wilyam!

B.M.: Tâ u fè lok-la, u wè; u *strain*
li, èvè u mété tut â yô gwo jag, i paka
tunè yô "tizan"?⁵⁵ . . . Yes sa!

B.M.: Ebè gasò, *multiply, subtrac'*
épi *add*: Ruma pu ruma; tizan pu
tizan, ba Rumatizan nô?

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Wilyam! . . . *Dam'*
ful!

E.B.: Ai! Stap sa! Mwè ka *converse*
ba-u. Sa u *mean*?

B.M.: Mwè mean, mwè Wilyam mwè
sòti amba Mushé F. P. Sandaz,
Barrista-at-la; mwè *high educated*. Silò
fakilti *ingenious mental ca'culation* mwè
Wilyam ka *direct* mwè, fasò mwè lan
asu sad-la, èvè zot stap mwè, sé pu zot
ni *high education*. Mwè sa *cut*; mwè sa
contrive; mwè sa *make-out*. Ebè gasò
tan mwè bié. "Wézò fè lalwa; lalwa fè
wézò." "Bitasiò shu pa bitasiò pem-
bwa." . . . Sa viwé?

B.M.: "Kat zié kontwé, mâti fini."
. . . . Sa viwé?

B.M.: "Lalin kuwi, dju bawé"

E.B.: A lalin kupé sa-a, mwè kai pwâ
pichet mwè, mwè kai ba-u kowopsiò.
. . . Sa i yé?

E.B.: Ka mété kowopsiò nâ kò-u!

B.M.: Désan asu mwè, neg!

Yô Chanté

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Mwè èmè tan u
sing.

B.M.: U vlé mwè *sing*?

E.B.: A Bôdié O! Ha! *Sing!* Ayayai!
Pa *interrup'* mwè. U kai *sing*?

B.M.: And you take that and you
put some green lime!

E.B.: All these things, in truth!

B.M.: And don't you put some
aniseed? And you put some cooking
oil?

E.B.: All these things, for true!

B.M.: You put some cooking oil.
When you boil all together, what do
you make? Do you not make a
"lock"?⁵⁴ . . . That is true! That is
true, William!

B.M.: When you make the lock, you
see; you strain it, and you put it all in
a large jug, does it not turn into a
"tizan"?⁵⁵ . . . Yes sir!

B.M.: Well boy, multiply, subtract
and add: Rumour for Rheuma; tizan for
tizan, not Rheumatizan (Rheumatism)
nuh?

E.B.: Good God! William!
Damn fool!

E.B.: Ah! Stop that! I am *con-*
versing with you. What do you mean?

B.M.: I mean, I, William, was trained
by Mr. S. P. Sanders, Barrister-at-Law;
I am highly educated. According to the
faculty of ingenious mental calculation
which directs me, William, and the way
I land on the soil, and you all stop me,
you all must have high education. I can
cut; I can contrive; I can make-out.
Well boy, listen well. "Reason makes
law; law makes reason"; "tania planta-
tion is not breadfruit plantation"; . . .
That is coming back?

B.M.: "Four eyes meet, lying finish."
. . . . That is coming back?

B.M.: "The moon runs, the day stops
it."

E.B.: At this moon-rise, I will take
my stick (and) I will give you correction.
. . . . What is that!

E.B.: I will put correction on you!

B.M.: Come down on me, man!

A Song

E.B.: Oh God oh! I like to hear you
sing.

B.M.: Do you want me to *sing*?

E.B.: Good Lord! Ha! *Sing!* Ayayai!
Don't interrupt me. Will you *sing*?

54. "Lock": mixture of different ingredients, to which sugar is added and boiled
to the consistency of a syrup. It is taken internally for coughs and colds.

55. "Tizan": An infusion of herbs boiled and filtered for internal medicinal use.

B.M.: Mwè kai *sing* ba-u. Mwè kai *sing* yò bel shanté La Gwinad. Pumié piti shanté-a nâ lékol Mushé Talma mwè té apwan Labé.

E.B.: A Bôdié O!

B.M.: Dongâ . . . ! Dongâ wulé mwè Mwè di wi, dépi lapé planté mwè.

Lapé, ba vini seklé mwè.

Sé lowai mwè ka mandé pu fè-i ba mwè.

E.B.: *Sing*, bwai! A Bôdié O! U tickle mwè, nâ tut!

B.M.: Shôjé Harbour-Master-a ba mwè yò *limited time* pu mwè kité *Trinidad*, u konet. Pas, i di mwè mwè *provocative* pu mwè gan *back*. Mwè pa konet kumâ. Nu tut sé *West Indian*, *al' man heart in one*. Mè, *Probation* Afisa di, sa *help me* Gad, si ba t'ni ful atariti mwè t'ni pu lésé. I ba mwè *one* awa pu mwè fè tut diskloz. Tâ mwè fini sa, pu mwè alé. U konet, twelmâ, dépi u sé smali, èvè u ba t'ni atariti⁵⁶ . . . !

E.B.: U pa kon yo ka kwiye-u *smal' ailan*?⁵⁷

B.M.: Yé pa t'ni *mercy!* . . . Yo kwiye-u *smal' ailan*.

B.M.: Hu dédé-é-é-é! Hu dada! Bôdié Gwâ met!

E.B.: *So good nâ so good!*

B.M.: Mwè èvek Wilyam, sa *help me* Gad, nu asu sad *Trinidad*. Ebè silô fakilti *mental ca'culation* nu ka *direct* nu, nu asu sad *Trinidad*. Yo ba nu *permission* pu nu lan asu sad-la pu nu diskos. Nu tan, "Tâ fè tâ kité tâ pu tâto."⁵⁸ You pa t'ni *privilege* sa-a. Amba fasô sa-a, silô fakilti *ingenious mental ca'culation* tâ sa-a *permit* sa.

B.M.: I will sing for you. I will sing a beautiful Grenadian song. The first little song I learnt in Mr. Talma's school in Grenville.

E.B.: Good Lord!

B.M.: Dongan, Dongan, roll me.

I say yes, since sorrow pins me down.

Sorrow, don't come and cut me down.

It's the thunder I am asking to do it for me.

E.B.: Song, boy! Oh God! You tickle me, indeed!

B.M.: Remember the Harbour Master give me *limited time* for me to leave *Trinidad*, you know. For, he tell me, I am provoking (when it comes) to going back. I do not know how. We all are *West Indians*, governed under *Britain*, we are not under *America*, nor *Russia*, or what you will, nor *China*. We are *Caribbean West Indian*, all man heart in one. But, the *Probation Officer* say, so help me God, if I have not full authority I have to leave. He give me one hour to make all my disclosures. When that is finished, I must leave. You know, these days, as long as you come from small places, and you haven't authority⁵⁶ . . . !

E.B.: Don't you know they call you "small island"?⁵⁷

B.M. They have no mercy! They call you "small island."

B.M.: Hello there! Hello there! God is a great Master!

E.B.: So good and so good!

B.M.: I and William, so help me God, we are on the soil of *Trinidad*. Well, because of the faculty of *mental calculation* which directs us, we are here in *Trinidad*. They give us *permission* to land on this sod for us to discourse. We hear, "Time makes time leave time for later on."⁵⁸ They (the unlearned) have not this privilege. Under these circumstances, given the faculty of *ingenious mental calculation*, these times (*Carnival days*) permit (all)

56. Satirical reference to local immigration restrictions.

57. A patronizing term sometimes used by natives of the larger Islands in referring to those of the smaller ones, but which, however, is fast getting into disuse.

58. Tâ fè tâ kité tâ pu tâto. Literally: "Time makes time leave time for later on." After one time comes another.

Nu need facility sa-a âba Caribbean new ada. Co-operation West Indian pu de West Indian. Al West Indian jain in han'.

E.B.: Sa sé bô disklos, nâ tut!

Lâwva

B.M.: E-é-é-é-é! U dada! Wilyam wivé. Batimâ Gwinad lan mwê, Wilyam, asu sad-la, èvek fasô mwê lan asu sad-la, lipep *Trinidad*, zot kuté biê. "Wézô fê lalwa; lalwa fê wézô." Pa la pemisiô public afis, èvek tut sé ladies an' gentleman-la-é ki jain heart an' han' togeda,⁵⁹ pu bai mwê, Wilyam, permission èvè atariti t'rough lamê Harbour Master pu lan asu sad-la, mwê ka bid zot goodbye.

B.M.: Ladies èvek gentleman, mwê Wilyam muê ka alé.

E.B.: Pa leave mwê! . . . Bakai leave u.

E.B.: Pa leave mwê si u ka alé; pa leave mwê.

B.M.: Ebê gasô, sé âpil lané dépi seventeen century—Queen Victoria bai freedom asu sad-la, èvè i mandé tut Gwinadiê, *Trinidad*, *Anguilla*, *Antigua*, *St. Vincent*, tut sé plas-la, al' unite heart in one. Amba fasô sa-a mwê désan pa la pemisiô Mawisho, èvè Guvelmâ *Trinidad*, èvè sé gentleman-la-é ki ka fê nu stodi âpil bagai, pu nu kite La Gwinad vini *Trinidad* pu nu educate al West Indian pu behave, rispek an' obey, Gad bless de lan! Goodbye!

this. We need this facility under Caribbean new order. Co-operation of West Indians for the West Indies. All West Indians join in hand.

E.B.: That is a good disclosure in truth!

Goodbye

B.M.: Oh . . . h! Hello there! William reach. The boat from Grenada landed me, William, on this soil, and the way I land on this soil, people of Trinidad, all you listen well. "Reason makes the law; the law makes reason." By permission of public offices and all these ladies and gentlemen there who join heart and hand together,⁵⁹ to give me, William, permission and authority through the hands of the Harbour Master to land on this soil, I am bidding you all goodbye.

B.M.: Ladies and gentlemen, I William am going.

E.B.: Don't leave me! . . . I won't leave you.

E.B.: Don't leave me if you are going; don't leave me.

B.M.: Well boy, it is many years—since the seventeenth century—Queen Victoria give freedom to this land, and she ask all Grenadian (Grenada), Trinidad, Anguilla, Antigua, St. Vincent, all the places, all unite heart in one. In the circumstances, I come down (here) by the permission of Marryshow, and the Trinidad Government, and these gentlemen who are teaching us a lot of things, for us to leave Grenada and come to Trinidad to educate all West Indians to behave, respect and obey. God bless the land! Goodbye!

AN APPRECIATION

I wish to express my appreciation and thanks to Mr. José Ramon Fortuné for his valuable assistance in checking the Patois Script and its translation into the English.

59. Referring to the presence of Electra Harris, Government Broadcasting Officer, Andrew Pearse, Director of Local Studies, U.C.W.I., Dan Crowley, Anthropologist of Northwestern University, James Jackman, Senior Probation Officer, and the writer.

Review

OF

MR. LLOYD BRAITHWAITE'S SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TRINIDAD SOCIETY

Based on "*Social Stratification in Trinidad*" and "*Cultural Integration in Trinidad*" published in "*Social and Economic Studies*", U.C.W.I. of October 1953 and June 1954 respectively.

In the opening chapter of his "Welfare and Planning in the West Indies", Professor Simey expresses the view that one of the barriers to the growth of a firm social bond in the West Indies is "the absence of a common cultural tradition serving as a means of holding the masses of the people together". George Lamming sounds the same note in "The Emigrants". His Jamaican philosophises on "them all that study an' call themself West Indies people". "A man who feel him got to prove himself start wid de first disadvantage that him ain't know w'at him ought to prove". Yet another wail is to be found in Springer's autobiographical sketch "On being a West Indian" in the *Caribbean Quarterly* of December 1953. He says ".....we are.....still trying to discover what we are like—what makes us characteristically West Indian or, if you like, what is the essence of our West Indianness".

We can best grasp the full significance of Mr. Braithwaite's study of Trinidad society by regarding it as an attempt to fill the vacuum referred to by these writers. For though the study is confined to one island, some of its findings are applicable to other British Caribbean Territories, and where this is not the case, they at least provide a basis from which a contrast can be made. A survey of this type is a valuable contribution during the birth-pangs of a West Indian nationhood, for it gives us an opportunity to rationalise our

standards of value before old attitudes become deeply engrained in our new consciousness. Furthermore, by increasing our awareness of domestic prejudices, we are apt to be more tolerant to, and less offended by prejudices we are likely to meet in other countries. The articles are readable and well-balanced, and the author must be complimented on not following the practice of many social scientists who by the frequent use of scientific jargon tend to repel the general reader. It is a pity, however, that the work was published in a specialist periodical and not as a booklet. The latter method would have had the advantage of improving the format, and of serving a wider public.

The first article, "Social Stratification in Trinidad", is divided into two parts. The first provides the background to the more important second part, and briefly describes the socio-economic and political background of the island. We are shown for the first time the extent to which what the author calls "The super-ordinate system of British Imperial power" has dominated every aspect of life in the island. We are not told in the section on Differential Fertility Rates what "radical transformation" the "social structure is likely to undergo" due to the higher fertility of the East Indian section, and the reader is left, as it were, in mid-air. One wonders whether this was deliberate. Though not explicitly saying so the author seems to commit himself to the generally accepted view that the island economy is based on agriculture. He tells us of "the continued pre-eminence of sugar", heads a section "Dependence upon Agriculture", where arguing from the position of the 1948 Economic Committee he deals with the problem of increasing local food supplies, and then

passes on to the development of secondary industries. Oil is mentioned only to show the dependence on foreign capital and the employment policy of the oil companies. In no account of the island's economy should mineral resources be treated so lightly. Since 1927 the value of mineral exports (petroleum, asphalt and their products) has been more than 50 per cent. of the total value of exports, and the yearly average percentage has been 78 since 1948. Moreover the oil industry has been the largest single contributor to the island's revenue for many years. In 1952 it contributed 36 per cent. of the total revenue of Colony and Government Operated Services. If together with these direct contributions the indirect ones were considered, we would see what a large part mineral resources play in the economy of the island.

After a concise and accurate review of political developments, the author concludes that "the society has become more or less committed to the complete institution of a democratic political regime". While many observers would like to share the author's optimism, one cannot ignore the note of warning of a tendency towards totalitarianism, which according to a Trinidad newspaper, was sounded by a local student of political affairs some months ago. The fact too that there has been no tradition of democratic institutions at the Local Government level may well have had the effect of making the electorate less interested in making democracy work. This argument is further bolstered by the author's later analysis. For he emphasises the authoritarian character and aggressiveness of the Trinidadian, and of the middle-class in particular, and concludes that the latter produces "a type of personality not suited for political responsibility". For my own part, I should like to join hands with the author, but his own analysis makes me more sceptical than ever.

In the second part the author goes into great detail to show how, the distribution of "Britishers" and the long Crown Colony status of the island have contributed to the formation of a common upper class whose values set the tone for the rest of the society. It is against this background that we must

try to understand the pre-occupation of the Trinidadian with questions of shade, texture of hair and facial characteristics in his personal relationships. The rigid mould which this stratification was likely to create has been upset by

- (a) an educational system which enabled persons regardless of colour to rise to professional status;
- (b) the "godfather" system and a general, though sometimes weak, tendency towards an achievement oriented civil service;
- (c) the existence of a variety of ethnic groups. These have more or less kept apart and are viewed as groups having inferior or superior status; and
- (d) the diffusion of wealth regardless of race.

The movement towards an open class system has not proceeded at the same pace in every facet of social life. There are certain professions which are still regarded as being of inferior status. In this connection the author is most likely correct in asserting that the activities of the teaching fraternity spring primarily from "the frustrated class-strivings of its members".

No Trinidadian can conscientiously deny the presence of shade discrimination in the sport and social life of the island. Many would claim that in cricket it is evident not only on the colonial but on the intercolonial level. It is difficult, however, to accept Mr. Braithwaite's explanation for the fact that rugby is not a popular game. First he claims that the "imported" games had "to be taught from above". This is a debatable point. It is quite likely that cricket was learnt by imitation and was not taught at all. After all, the rudiments of cricket are quite simple, and few Trinidadians are not familiar with the crude implements of the coconut bat, the young breadfruit and the soap-box. Playing according to the rules of the game is an easy step after the co-ordination of the hand and eye to the flight of the ball. Why then did rugby not "catch on"? We must remember that even in England this is more or less a Public School game, and as the British tended to educate their children

out of the island, there was no demand for this type of institution and its sport life in the 19th century. This no doubt accounts for the late arrival of the game in the island. And when it was introduced it was played not in the day schools, where even in England it did not belong, but by those few Englishmen who had played the game in England. It did not, and even up to today, has not become a "white people's game". It is as foreign to many white Trinidadians as it is to the coloured. There are two factors in the nature of the game itself which tended to keep it away from the masses. It is played with a special ball which cannot be improvised as one can a football. And secondly, the rules of the game are complex, and without first understanding them one cannot even learn the rudiments of the game.

In his analysis of the coloured middle-class group the author shows the importance of certain psychological attitudes in the choice of friends and in marriage. Movement up the social ladder can be attained not only by professional status, but also by marrying a woman of lighter complexion. Dark-skinned men who have "done well" tend, therefore, to marry the local girl of lighter skin, and those men who have the good fortune to study abroad tend to marry European wives. At the same time the fair-skinned woman, though she would like to marry up into the white group is at a disadvantage, because there is no tendency for men in that group to "marry down". The general conclusions which Mr. Braithwaite draws are quite sound, but his whole analysis of the problem and the way in which he couches his language suggests that his approach has been too mechanistic. He says, for example, "Having achieved the latter (professional success) he could afford to look around, to pick and choose; and having a choice he naturally chose what the society defined, and what he accepted, as the aesthetically desirable". He seems to ignore the human aspect completely. It may well be the case that men are also prompted to make these so-called "better marriages" out of a desire to find intellectual companionship. Girls with fair skins, in many cases, come from the better type

of home and receive a good education. There are many cases in which dark-skinned men marry them because of the companionship they offer. This argument is even stronger in the case of many marriages with Europeans. I do not wish to deny the author's main conclusion, but I do not think that the motives all spring from a tendency towards social mobility.

There are aspects of the Trinidadian's character which are hindrances to the rapid growth of the economy. Conspicuous consumption, common to both the middle and lower classes, results in a low rate of saving in the community as a whole. The low motivation to work, due in part to such factors as malnutrition, malignant diseases, low wages and working hours not suited to a tropical climate, is an important hindrance to an increase in the productivity of labour. The spirit of aggression which might have resulted in keen economic competition has instead found an outlet in antagonism to the metropolitan power and in class and race hatreds. It is interesting to note that at the basis of the cut-throat competition between taxis plying on the Eastern Main Road some four years ago, was racial antagonism between those of African descent and the East Indian. The reluctance of the Trinidadian to forego immediate for future pleasures, has made him invest in commercial enterprises where the returns are quick, rather than in local industries such as pottery and weaving. And finally, "ambition" has tended to make those with "paper qualifications" seek white-collar jobs, thus leaving the commercial, engineering and industrial fields for those who can least benefit from advanced courses. As a result there is a great dearth of the type of techniques required for rapid industrialisation.

Mr. Braithwaite makes a very vital contribution when discussing the psychological attitudes resulting from the universal recognition of academic achievement in the primary or secondary school as the sole criterion of achievement. This examination-bias of the educational system was roundly condemned by the report of the Working Party on Education which was published last year. Neither of the two main types

which Mr. Braithwaite refers to is an asset to the community. First, there are the successful candidates who having "benefited" from a "pernicious private lesson system" attain safe jobs and just vegetate, making little contribution to the life of the community as a whole. Then there are those whose early failures make them develop feelings of inferiority and look to the successful ones for leadership. This is certainly one of the contributing factors to middle-class apathy in politics.

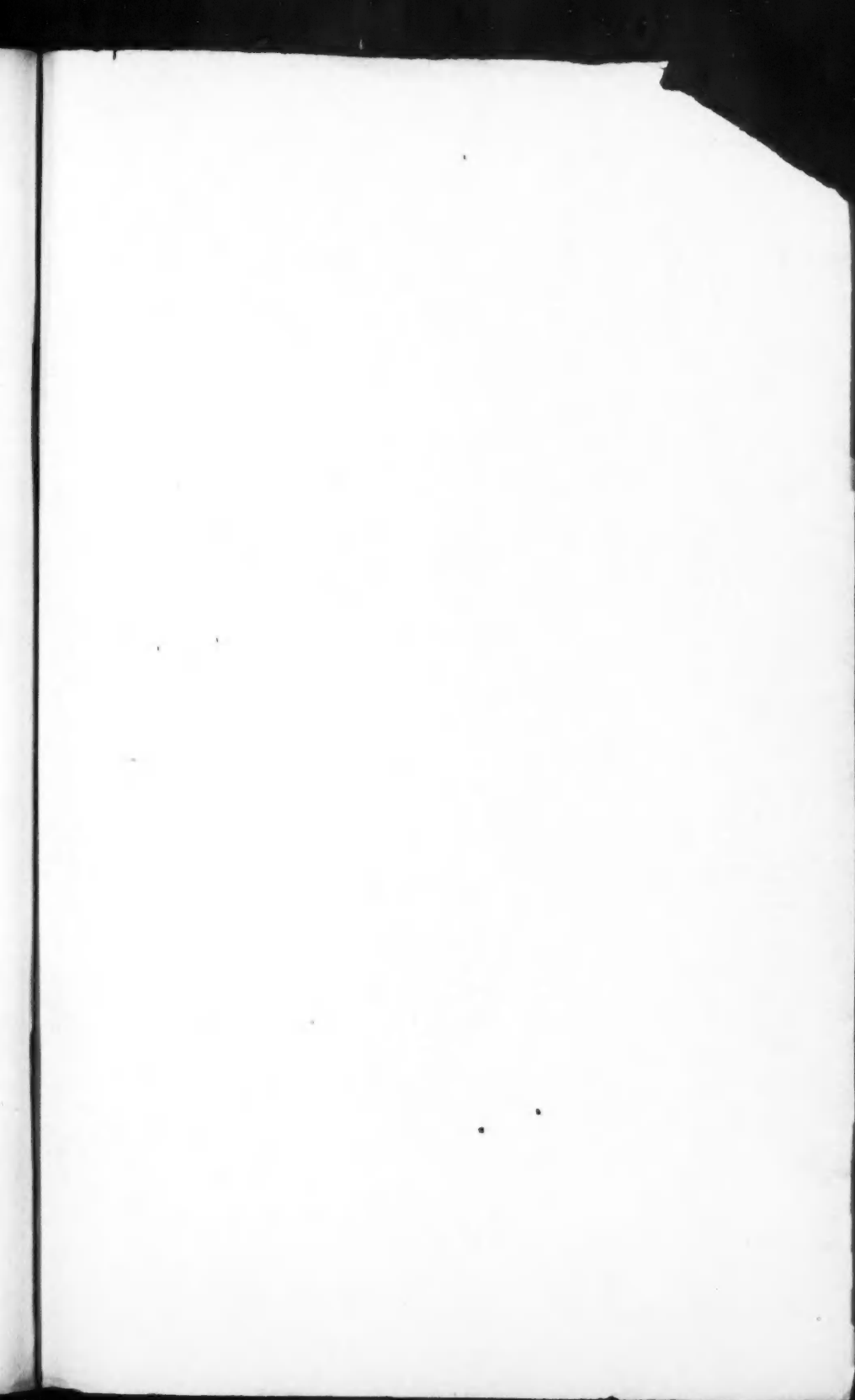
In the second article, "Cultural Integration in Trinidad", the author develops the conclusion he arrived at in the first, regarding the importance of the "cultural-latent" area if a universalistic scale of values is to be achieved. It is important to note the part played by the lower class in this search for a common culture. The middle-class has, undoubtedly, made its contribution, as is shown by the literary developments over the past two decades. But theirs has been less striking than the calypsoes or the steel band of the former group. The calypso, regarded by the upper and

middle-classes as being vulgar, has not found many composers outside the lower class, but all sections of the society are proud of it. The steel band, on the other hand, has won many middle-class adherents.

In this recent cultural development Trinidadians have at last found vehicles of expression which make them distinct from other people. The lead has come from the bottom, and much of the encouragement from outside, but the higher classes, having themselves found much lacking in the hybrid forms of European culture which they had imbibed, have at last turned to that section of the community which they had previously regarded with the greatest amount of hostility.

This review deals only with a few of the points dealt with by Mr. Braithwaite. I have enjoyed reading this survey, and I do hope that those West Indians who are interested in finding out what the sociologist has to say about our motives and attitudes will turn to this enlightening study.

MAX B. IFILL.



GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, TRINIDAD, B.W.I.—1956

